

STATEMENTS
RESPECTING THE
EAST-INDIA COLLEGE,
WITH AN
APPEAL TO FACTS,
IN
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES
LATELY BROUGHT AGAINST IT,
IN THE
Court of Proprietors.

BY
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COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE, AND LATE FELLOW OF
JESU-S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following statements, with the exception of the last head, were written some time since, on account of a rumour then prevailing of charges being meditated in the Court of Proprietors, which I thought were likely to be founded in an ignorance of the real state of the college;—of what it had done, and what it was doing, towards the accomplishment of the specific objects for which it was founded.

The silence of the Court of Proprietors on this subject, the quiet and good order of the college during the last year, and a great reluctance on my

own part to appear before the public on such an occasion, without a very strong necessity, withheld me from publishing. But it is impossible to be silent, under the uncontradicted imputations brought forward in the Court of Proprietors, on the 18th of December, when I know them to be unfounded. I no longer hesitate, therefore, to send what I had written to the press, with the addition of a more specific refutation of the charges brought against the college, in the Court of Proprietors and elsewhere, at the present moment.

The reader will, I hope, excuse a few partial repetitions under the last head; as I think it probable that this part will be read by persons who may not have leisure or inclination to read the whole.

— I have put my name to the following statements, to shew that I pledge my character to the truth of what I have asserted, according to the best of my

knowledge and belief. It would be but fair, therefore, that those writers who may attempt to controvert them, and continue their attacks upon the college in the public prints, should adopt the same candid and manly mode of proceeding. If they do not, the inference will be pretty strong, that they cannot reveal their names without discovering to the public some probable motives for their attacks, different from a desire to promote the welfare and good government of India.

T. ROBERT SMITHUS.

January 4th, 1817.

STATEMENTS,

&c.

THE disturbances which have occasionally taken place at the East India-college, together with the virulent attacks lately made upon it in the Court of Proprietors, have excited the attention of the public, and given rise to some very unfavourable opinions respecting its utility and efficiency. It has been even surmised that a petition might be presented to Parliament to withdraw that legislative sanction which was given to it at the time of the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter.

The abolition of an extensive establishment, the object of which is to give an improved education to those who are to be sent from this country to govern sixty millions of people in India, ought not, certainly, to be determined on without much consideration. Whatever measures may be dictated by the feelings of temporary disappointment and irritation experienced by some who are immediately connected with the institution, either as its patrons, or as parents and

friends of those who are educated there, the great object that must be kept in view by the legislature and the public is, the good government of India. Unless it can be clearly made out, that the education necessary for the furtherance of this object can be given in some other and better way than in the college actually established, they will certainly hesitate, and be very sure of the ground on which they go, before they consent to its abolition, or withdraw from it that support and countenance which are necessary to preserve it from ultimately perishing. Every part of the subject, therefore, should be thoroughly well considered previously to the taking of any new step, either with a view to the suppression of the existing institution, and a return to the former system of casual education, or with a view to the formation of any new establishment, which may appear to promise a more successful accomplishment of the object. The whole subject may, perhaps, be advantageously resolved into the following questions ; and the answers to them are intended to furnish some materials for the determination of the important points to which they refer.

I. What are the qualifications at present necessary for the civil service of the East-India Company, in the administration of their Indian territories ?

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SECTION I.

I. What are the qualifications at present necessary for the civil service of the East-India Company, in the administration of their Indian territories?

TO the first question, and parts of the others, it will be impossible to give an answer at once so able and so conclusive as by quoting largely from the “*Minute in Council*” of the Marquis Wellesley, dated August 18, 1800, containing the reasons which induced him to found a collegiate institution at Fort William.

He begins with a masterly view of the gradual change which has taken place in the number, importance, and responsibility of the trusts confided to the civil servants of the Company, and the high qualifications necessary to fill them: after which he proceeds as follows:—

“ The British possessions in India now constitute one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world. The immediate administration of the government of the various provinces and nations composing this empire is principally confided to European civil

“ servants of the East-India Company. Those provinces,
“ namely, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares; the
“ Company’s Jaghire in the Carnatic, the Northern
“ Circars, the Barainhal, and other districts ceded by
“ the peace of Seringapatam in 1792, which are under
“ the more immediate and direct administration of
“ the civil servants of the Company, are acknowledged
“ to form the most opulent and flourishing part of
“ India; in which property, life, civil order, and re-
“ ligious liberty, are more secure, and the people enjoy
“ a larger portion of the benefits of good government,
“ than in any other country in this quarter of the
“ globe. The duty and policy of the British govern-
“ ment in India require that the system of confiding
“ the immediate exercise of every branch and depart-
“ ment of the civil government to Europeans educated
“ in its own service, and subject to its own direct con-
“ trol, should be diffused as widely as possible; as
“ well with a view to the stability of our own interests,
“ as to the happiness and welfare of our native sub-
“ jects. This principle formed the basis of the wise
“ and benevolent system introduced by Lord Corn-
“ wallis, for the improvement of the internal govern-
“ ment of the provinces immediately subject to the
“ presidency of Bengal.

“ In proportion to the extension of this beneficial
“ system, the duties of the European civil servants of
“ the East-India Company are become of greater

“ magnitude and importance. The denominations
“ of *writer*, *factor* and *merchant*, by which the seve-
“ ral classes of the civil service are still distinguished,
“ are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and
“ extent of the duties discharged and of the occu-
“ pations pursued by the civil servants of the Com-
“ pany.

“ To dispense justice to millions of people of various
“ languages, manners, usages, and religions ; to ad-
“ minister a vast and complicated system of revenue,
“ through districts equal in extent to some of the
“ most considerable kingdoms in Europe ; to maintain
“ civil order in one of the most populous and litigious
“ regions in the world ; these are now the duties of the
“ larger portion of the civil servants of the Company.
“ The senior merchants, composing the Courts of
“ Circuit and Appeal under the presidency of Bengal,
“ exercise in each of these courts a jurisdiction of
“ greater local extent, applicable to a larger population,
“ and occupied in the determination of causes infi-
“ nitely more intricate and numerous, than that of any
“ regularly constituted courts of justice in any part of
“ Europe. The senior or junior merchants employed
“ in the several magistracies and Zillah courts, the
“ writers or factors filling the stations of registers
“ and assistants to the several courts and magistrates,
“ exercise, in different degrees, functions of a nature
“ either purely judicial, or intimately connected with

“ the administration of the police, and with the main-
“ tenance of the peace and good order of their re-
“ spective districts. Commercial and mercantile
“ knowledge is not only unnecessary throughout every
“ branch of the judicial department; but those civil
“ servants, who are invested with the powers of ma-
“ gistracy, or attached to the judicial department
“ in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the
“ denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are
“ bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an
“ oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercan-
“ tile pursuit. The mercantile title which they bear
“ not only affords no description of their duty, but is
“ entirely at variance with it.

“ The pleadings in the several courts, and all im-
“ portant judicial transactions, are conducted in the
“ native languages. The law which the Company’s
“ judges are bound to administer throughout the
“ country is not the law of England, but that law to
“ which the natives had been long accustomed under
“ their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by
“ the voluminous regulations of the Governor-Ge-
“ neral in Council, as well as by the general spirit of
“ the British constitution.

“ These observations are sufficient to prove, that
“ no more arduous or complicated duties of magi-
“ stracy exist in the world, *no qualifications more*
“ *various or comprehensive can be imagined*, than

“ those which are required from every British
“ subject who enters the seat of judgment within the
“ limits of the Company’s empire in India.

“ To the administration of revenue many of the
“ preceding observations will apply with equal force.
“ The merchants, factors, and writers, employed in
“ this department, also, are bound to abjure the mer-
“ cantile denomination appropriated to their respective
“ classes in the Company’s service; nor is it possible
“ for a collector of the revenue, or for any civil ser-
“ vant employed under him, to discharge his duty
“ with common justice either to the state or to the
“ people, unless he shall be conversant in the lan-
“ guage, manners, and usages of the country, and
“ in the general principles of the law, as administered
“ in their courts of justice. In addition to the or-
“ dinary judicial and executive functions of the judges,
“ magistrates, and collectors, the judges and ma-
“ gistrates occasionally act in the capacity of governors
“ of their respective districts, employing military,
“ and exercising other extensive powers. The judges,
“ magistrates, and collectors, are also respectively re-
“ quired by law to propose, from time to time, to
“ the Governor-General in Council, such amend-
“ ments of the existing laws, or such new laws, as
“ may appear to them to be necessary to the welfare
“ and good government of their respective districts.
“ In this view the civil servants employed in the de-

" departments of judicature and revenue constitute a
 " species of subordinate legislative council to the
 " Governor-General in Council, and also a channel
 " of communication by which the government ought
 " to be enabled, at all times, to ascertain the wants
 " and wishes of the people. The remarks applied
 " to these two main branches of the civil service, *viz.*
 " those of Judicature and Revenue, are at least
 " equally forcible in their application to those branches
 " which may be described under the general terms of
 " political and financial departments, comprehending
 " the office of Chief Secretary, the various stations
 " in the Secretary's office, in the Treasury, and in
 " the office of Accountant-General; together with all
 " public officers employed in conducting the current
 " business at the seat of government. To these must
 " be added the diplomatic branch, including the se-
 " veral residencies at the courts of our dependent and
 " tributary princes, or other native powers of India.

" It is certainly desirable that all these stations
 " should be filled by the civil servants of the Com-
 " pany; it is equally evident that qualifications are
 " required in each of these stations, either wholly
 " foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the
 " limits of a commercial education."

" Even that department of the empire, which is
 " denominated exclusively commercial, requires know-
 " ledge and habits different in a considerable degree

“ from those which form the mercantile character in
“ Europe. Nor can the Company’s investment
“ ever be conducted with the greatest possible ad-
“ vantage and honour to themselves, or with ade-
“ quate justice to their subjects, unless their com-
“ mercial agents shall possess many of the qualifica-
“ tions of statesmen enumerated in the preceding
“ observations. The manufacturers, and other in-
“ dustrious classes, whose productive labour is the
“ source of the investment, bear so great a propor-
“ tion to the total population of the Company’s do-
“ minions, that the general happiness and prosperity
“ of the country must essentially depend on the
“ conduct of the commercial servants employed in
“ providing the investment. Their conduct cannot
“ be answerable to such a charge, unless they be
“ conversant in the native languages, and in the cus-
“ toms and usages of the people, as well as in the
“ laws by which the country is governed. The peace,
“ order, and welfare of whole provinces, may be ma-
“ terially affected by the malversations, or even by
“ the ignorance and errors of a commercial resident,
“ whose management touches the dearest and most
“ valuable interests, and enters into the domestic
“ concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and
“ acute from habitual industry, and jealous of any
“ act of power injurious to their properties, or con-
“ trary to their prejudices and customs.

“ The civil servants of the East-India Company, “ therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents “ of a *commercial concern*: they are, in fact, the “ ministers and officers of a *powerful sovereign*: they “ must now be viewed in that capacity with a re- “ ference not to their nominal, but to their real oc- “ cupations. They are required to discharge the “ functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and “ governors of provinces, in all the complicated and “ extensive relations of those sacred trusts and ex- “ alted stations, and under peculiar circumstances, “ which greatly enhance the solemnity of every pub- “ lic obligation, and the difficulty of every public “ charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in “ every other part of the world; with no other cha- “ racteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by “ an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the “ peculiar usages and laws of India, and the man- “ ners of its inhabitants.”

Nothing can be added to these statements which can be expected to render them more clear, or to give them greater weight. They are quite decisive with regard to the qualifications required for the civil service of the East-India Company in India.

SECTION II.

Has any deficiency in these qualifications been actually experienced in such a degree as to be injurious to the service in India?

ON the second question, also, it will be most advantageous to hear the opinion of the Marquis Wellesley. He observes in the minute of August 18, 1800, “ It may be useful in this place to review the “ course in which the junior civil servants of the East-“ India Company now enter upon the important duties “ of their respective stations; to consider to what “ degree they now possess or can attain any means of “ qualifying themselves sufficiently for those stations; “ and to examine whether the great body of the civil “ servants at any of the Presidencies can now be deemed “ competent to discharge their arduous and compre-“ hensive trusts in a manner correspondent to the in-“ terests and honour of the British name in India, or to “ the prosperity and happiness of our native subjects. “ The age at which the writers usually arrive in

“ India is from sixteen to eighteen. Their parents
“ and friends in England, from a variety of con-
“ siderations, are naturally desirous not only to ac-
“ celerate the appointment at home, but to despatch
“ the young men to India at the earliest possible
“ period. Some of these young men have been edu-
“ cated with an express view to the civil service in
“ India on principles utterly erroneous, and inappli-
“ cable to its actual condition. Conformably to this
“ error, they have received a limited education, con-
“ fined principally to commercial knowledge, and
“ in no degree extended to those liberal studies which
“ constitute the basis of education at public schools
“ in England. Even this limited course of study is
“ interrupted at the early period of fifteen or seven-
“ teen years.

“ It would be superfluous to enter into any argu-
“ ment to demonstrate the absolute insufficiency of
“ this class of young men to execute the duties of
“ any station whatever in the civil service of the
“ Company, beyond the menial, laborious, unwhole-
“ some duty of a mere copying-clerk. Those who
“ have received the benefits of a better education
“ have the misfortune to find the course of their studies
“ prematurely interrupted at the critical period when
“ its utility is first felt, and before they have been
“ enabled to secure the fruits of early application.
- “ On the arrival of the writers in India, they are

“ either stationed in the interior of the country, or
“ employet in some office in the presidency. If
“ stationed in the interior of the country, they are
“ placed in situations which require a knowledge of
“ the language and customs of the natives ; or of the
“ regulations and laws ; or of the general principles
“ of jurisprudence ; or of the details of the established
“ system of revenue ; or of the nature of the Com-
“ pany's investment ; or of many of these branches
“ of information combined. In all these branches of
“ knowledge the young writers are totally uninformed,
“ and they are consequently totally unequal to their
“ prescribed duties. In some cases their superior
“ in office, experiencing no benefit from their ser-
“ vices, leaves them unemployed. In this state
“ many devote their time to those luxuries and enjoy-
“ ments which their situation enables them to com-
“ mand, without making any effort to qualify them-
“ selves for the important stations to which they are
“ destined. They remain sunk in indolence, until,
“ from their station in the service, they succeed to
“ offices of high public trust.

“ Positive incapacity is the necessary result of
“ these pernicious habits of inaction ; the principles
“ of public integrity are endangered, and the suc-
“ cessful administration of the whole government ex-
“ posed to hazard. This has been the unhappy course
“ of many, who have conceived an early disgust in

“ provincial stations against business to which they
 “ have found themselves unequal, and who have
 “ been abandoned to the effects of despondency and
 “ sloth.”

The Marquis goes on to say, that “ even the
 “ young men whose dispositions are the most pro-
 “ mising, if stationed in the interior of the country,
 “ at an early period after their arrival in India, labour
 “ under such disadvantages, that they can scarcely
 “ establish those foundations of useful knowledge in-
 “ dispensably necessary to enable them afterwards to
 “ execute the duties of important stations with ability
 “ and credit. And that, with regard to the young
 “ men attached to the offices of the presidency, the
 “ most assiduous of them, being occupied in the close
 “ and laborious application to the hourly business of
 “ transcribing papers, are seldom able to make ad-
 “ vances in any other branch of knowledge, and at
 “ the close of two or three years they have generally
 “ lost the fruits of their European studies, without
 “ having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic
 “ literature or business ; while those, whose disposi-
 “ tions lead them to idleness and dissipation, finding
 “ greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance
 “ in the presidency than in the provinces, fall into
 “ courses which destroy their health and fortunes ;
 “ and some of them succeeding in the ordinary pro-
 “ gress of the service to employments, their incapacity

“ or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives,
 “ disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to the
 “ State.

“ Under all these early disadvantages,” the Marquis says, “ it is highly creditable to the individual cha-
 “ racters of the civil servants of the East-India Com-
 “ pany, that so many instances have occurred in va-
 “ rious branches and departments of the civil service,
 “ at all the presidencies, of persons who have discharged
 “ their public duties with considerable respect and
 “ honour.

“ It has been justly observed, that all the merits of
 “ the civil servants are to be ascribed to their own
 “ character, talents, and exertions ; while their defects
 “ must be imputed to the constitution and practice of
 “ the service, which have not been accommodated to
 “ the progressive changes of our situation in India, and
 “ have not kept pace with the growth of this empire,
 “ or with the increasing extent and importance of the
 “ functions and duties of civil servants.

“ The study and acquisition of the languages have,
 “ however, been extended in Bengal, and the general
 “ knowledge and qualifications of the civil servants
 “ have been improved. The proportion of the civil
 “ servants in Bengal who have made a considerable
 “ progress towards the attainment of the qualifications
 “ requisite in their several stations appears great, and
 “ even astonishing, when viewed with regard to the

“ early disadvantages, embarrassments, and defects of
 “ the civil service. But this proportion will appear
 “ very different when compared with the exigencies of
 “ the state, with the magnitude of these provinces,
 “ and with the total number of the civil servants
 “ which must supply the succession to the great
 “ offices of the government.

“ *It must be admitted that the great body of the
 civil servants in Bengal is not at present sufficiently
 qualified to discharge the duties of the several ar-
 duous stations in the administration of this empire ;
 and that it is particularly deficient in the judicial,
 fiscal, financial, and political branches of the go-
 vernment.*

“ The state of the civil services of Madras and
 “ Bombay is still more defective than that of Ben-
 “ gal.”

Nothing can be more clear and convincing than this statement of deficiency in the great body of the civil servants of the Company, before any efforts were made, either in India or in England, to give them a superior education. It is sufficiently well known, though no written documents may remain on the subject, on account of no specific remedy having been proposed, that Lord Cornwallis found the same difficulty in filling the important offices of the state with proper persons as the Marquis Wellesley. Many of the older civil servants were passed over in the

search for the qualifications required, and, even with the greatest range that the rules of the service would admit, the search was not always successful.

Mr. Edmonstone, in his excellent speech at the public disputation, held at the College of Port-William on the 27th of July, 1815, strongly notices the former defects in the education of the civil servants, and advert's particularly to the argument adduced by some persons in favour of the sufficiency of the old system, founded on the progressive prosperity and power of the British dominion in India, and on the success which attended the administration of the concerns of this great empire.

“ When we contemplate,” he says, “ our situation in this country; when we reflect that we are governing a population of many millions, to whom our language is unknown; whose religion, habits, manners, usages and prejudices, wholly differ from our own; no argument would seem requisite to prove that the diffusion of the benefits and blessings of a British administration among these our subjects must essentially depend on the degree in which the power of communication with the natives of India is possessed by the public officers employed in the various branches of this great and complicated government. Splendid as has been the career of our dominion, prosperous as has been the conduct of our internal concerns, who will allege that no ad-

“ vantages have been lost, no evils have been incurred, “ which a skilful use of the powers of language might “ not have secured and prevented?

“ Who will say that improved means of direct intercourse with our subjects are not indispensably required to co-operate with the enactment and administration of salutary laws for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge and the practice of those principles of conduct which have a tendency to exalt the standard of national character, to diminish the prevalence of immorality and crime, and to promote the general welfare and happiness of the inhabitants of these territories? Who will maintain that far greater advances in the attainment of such important purposes might not long since have been made, if the existing facilities of Oriental study and acquirement had in early times enabled the Company's servants to arrive at that proficiency which is now so generally attained?"

These observations are perfectly just, but something further might be added on the subject. The progressive extension and prosperity of the British dominions in India has been founded mainly on its military and political power; but, in the military line and the highest departments of government, circumstances rarely fail to generate the qualifications required. All ages and countries have produced warriors and statesmen. A few great and illustrious individuals, such as

we may suppose might be formed out of the number of Englishmen sent to the east, might be sufficient so to animate the whole body of their countrymen, and so skilfully to manage the natives, as to acquire and maintain enormous possessions against Mahometan and Indian competitors. But it is a very different thing when the question is no longer about the acquisition and maintenance of empire, but the administration of justice and of a good internal government to sixty millions of subjects. Here the few men of great talents, who will always be found among a certain number, are comparatively without power. They cannot act without instruments. These instruments must necessarily be a considerable body of civil servants, not only possessing the means of easy communication with the natives, but of improved understandings, of acquired knowledge, and of habits of steady application and industry. When it is recollected that there is no judge on the bench in England who is not of mature age, and has not shewn himself for many years eminent among a number of eminent competitors, it is difficult to conceive that the judicial department in India should be in any degree adequately filled. And though it might be allowed that out of the number supplied from England in the civil and military line, according to the former system, India would never be deficient in persons fit to command in the field, or advise in the cabinet; yet that

such a body, so collected, should furnish a sufficient number of persons competent to conduct ably and efficiently the whole internal administration of so great and populous a country, seems next to an impossibility. Nothing, then, can be more futile than the argument in favour of the former system, derived from the progressive extension of our power in the east. In fact the past and present internal state of India directly contradict the arguments. Before the period of the establishment of the Board of Control and the commencement of the government of Lord Cornwallis, however wonderful might have been the progress of our power, the internal prosperity of the provinces in our possession was generally considered to be on the decline ; and, even since that period, the commercial, financial, and territorial prosperity of British India, has certainly not kept pace with the brilliant career of its arms and councils. Considering the long peace which Bengal has enjoyed under the protection of these arms, its cultivation, wealth, and population, have not increased so much as might naturally have been expected ; and not only would it be rash to affirm, as Mr. Edmonstone intimates, that no advantages have been lost in consequence of the deficient knowledge of the Company's servants, but it would probably be quite safe to assert, that the interests of the Company and the happiness and prosperity of their Indian subjects must have suffered

inmaterially from this cause ; that they suffer in some degree still ; but that they suffered much more, antecedently to the commencement of the improved system of education, when the number of those who attained to any degree of proficiency in the languages was extremely confined ; when, according to Mr. Edmonstone, the *Arabic* and *Sanscrit* could boast only of a few occasional votaries ; when the proportion of the servants of the Company who acquired a knowledge of the *Persian* language was comparatively inconsiderable, and the general standard of proficiency in that language was extremely low ; when, unassisted by a Moonshee, few were capable of executing the ordinary business of translating from Persian into English, and still fewer were able to perform the converse of that operation with any grammatical correctness, without the same assistance ; when the number of those who were adequately conversant in the *Hindoostane* was extremely limited, and the language of *Bengal* was almost generally neglected and unknown. Mr. Edmonstone then adds, “ how essential, how extensive, has been the change in all these respects ! ”

It might naturally be expected that the defects of the former system would be the least conspicuous in the acquisition of the languages ; and that an early removal to India, and an early employment in some subordinate official situation, would not have been very disadvantageous in this respect, however disadvanta-

geous it would be, as directly stated by Lord Wellesley, with a view to the attainments necessary in the higher departments of the service.

But it appears, that even in the languages, with the exception of a few self-taught individuals, the deficiency was very great. What then must it have been in the other qualifications necessary for the internal administration of a great country?

When to these statements of Mr. Edmonstone, and the inferences which follow from them, we add the distinct declaration of the Marquis Wellesley, before quoted, respecting the insufficient qualifications of the great body of the civil servants, it is abundantly evident that an improved education for the civil service of the Company was not an imaginary and theoretical, but a real and practical want—a want which, in some way or other, required unquestionably to be supplied.

SECTION III.

In order to secure the attainment of the qualifications necessary for the civil servants of the Company, is an appropriate establishment necessary? and should it be of the nature of a school, or a college?

THE Marquis Wellesley, after dwelling upon the qualifications necessary for the civil service of the Company, observes that it is unnecessary to enter into an examination of facts to prove that no system of education, study, or discipline, now exists either in Europe or India, founded on the principles or directed to the objects which he had described; and his opinion of the necessity of an appropriate institution was fully evinced by the grand collegiate establishment which he founded at Fort William.

It is well known that this establishment, in its full extent, was not sanctioned by the Court of Directors. The main ground of their rejection of it they stated to be the enormous and indefinite expense in which it must involve the Company, which they considered as

too great for the actual state of their affairs. They paid high compliments to the liberal and enlightened spirit and great ability of the Marquis, though they only expressed their approbation of parts of his plan. They acknowledged, however, the necessity of an improved education for their civil servants, but seemed to think that this object might be effectually accomplished by an enlarged seminary for Oriental learning at Calcutta, combined with an improved system of education in Europe, suitable to the sphere of life in which their civil servants were intended to move.

None of the old establishments in England offered such a system of education. The great public schools, which, upon the Marquis Wellesley's plan of an university education in Calcutta, would have answered perfectly well for the European part of the education till fifteen or sixteen, were evidently insufficient when the Indian part of the education was to be confined exclusively to the Oriental languages, and conducted without any system of discipline.

A regular course of study at Oxford and Cambridge would evidently detain the young men too long in England, and would defer the commencement of their Indian career till the age of twenty-two or twenty-three; a period, which is considered as decidedly objectionable, both with respect to the greater difficulty they would find in accommodating themselves to Indian manners and habits, and to the necessarily

later period of life at which they could expect to return to their native country with a competency.

Whatever difficulties or objections, therefore, might attend an institution exclusively applied to the education of the young persons destined to go out to India as writers, such an appropriate institution seemed to be necessarily required by the specific wants of the Company.

But if an appropriate establishment was necessary, the nature of the object to be attained obviously dictated the propriety of its assuming a collegiate form.

At the time that the establishment in Hertfordshire was founded, the plan of general education projected by the Marquis Wellesley at the college in Calcutta had been given up, and the lectures were confined exclusively to the Oriental languages. It was necessary, therefore, with a view to the qualifications acknowledged to be required in the service, to commence a plan of more general study in England; and for this purpose a school was unfit.

At a school which the boys would leave at an early age, little more could be learnt with advantage than at the usual seminaries of the country. If the age of proceeding to India was in general not later than sixteen, there would certainly be ample time for the acquisition of the Oriental languages in that country before a writer could be employed, or, at least, before he ought to be employed, in any official situation

beyond that of copying-clerk ; and the advantage which he would gain by commencing the Oriental languages at school would be so trifling as not nearly to counterbalance the time employed on them.

It will hardly be contended, that boys under the age of sixteen are fit to commence that course of general reading which may be considered as appropriate to their future destination ; and an attempt to introduce such a system would inevitably occasion the complete sacrifice of classical studies, with scarcely a possibility of substituting any thing in their stead but that mercantile education, so strongly reprobated by Lord Wellesley.

*With regard to conduct,—*the strict discipline and constant superintendence of a school would be but a bad preparation for the entire independence, and complete freedom from all restraint, which would await them on their arrival at Calcutta ; and as long as they continue to proceed to India at the age of school-boys, whether they are taken from an appropriate establishment, or from the common schools of the country, nothing is done towards removing or mitigating the dangers arising from this cause.

If to these considerations be added the objections which have been made to an appropriate establishment for India, as tending to generate something like an Indian caste (objections which might have some weight if the exclusive education commenced as early as

twelve or thirteen), it may safely be concluded that any expenditure of the Company in an *appropriate school* would not only be entirely wasted, but would probably be the means of giving them servants of less powerful minds, and inferior general abilities, than if they had been taken promiscuously from the common schools of the country.

To accomplish the particular object proposed some institution was required, which was adapted to form the understandings of persons above the age of mere boys, where a more liberal system of discipline might be introduced; and where, instead of being kept to their studies solely by the fear of immediate observation and punishment, they might learn to be influenced by the higher motives of the love of distinction and the fear of disgrace, and to depend for success upon their own diligence and self-control; upon the power of regulating their own time and attention; and on habits of systematic and persevering application, when out of the presence of their teachers. Nothing but an institution approaching in some degree to a college, and possessing some degree of college liberty, could either generate such habits, or properly develop the different characters of the young persons educated in it; and mark with sufficient precision the industrious and the indolent, the able and the deficient, the well-disposed and the turbulent. Nothing, in short, but an institution at which the students would remain till

eighteen or nineteen, could be expected properly to prepare them for the acquisition of those high qualifications, which had been stated from the best authority to be necessary for a very large portion of the civil servants of the Company, in order to enable them to discharge their various and important duties with credit to themselves and advantage to the service.

Yet, in spite of these obvious reasons, which seemed to settle the question at once in favour of a college, there were many who preferred a school, as there were many who would have greatly preferred the having neither the one nor the other. The motives for this latter preference were sufficiently intelligible.

Besides the argument for leaving things as they are, which so many persons are always ready to apply on all occasions, it was certain that any system of education at a particular establishment, which was made a necessary qualification for an appointment to India, must tend rather to diminish the value of the patronage of the Directors. In the first place, the expense of the education would generally be considered by the parents and guardians of the young person appointed as a drawback upon the advantage received. And, secondly, the chance that, from inability or misconduct, the appointment might not be confirmed, would be a consideration of a nature to have great weight with those who, it is to be feared, sometimes wish to send out a son, or other connexion, to India,

whose conduct and attainments do not promise a very fortunate career at home.

It is evident that most of the reasons which would determine many persons to prefer the old system to any kind of establishment whatever, for the education of the civil servants of the Company, would determine them to prefer a school to a college, if it were necessary to choose between the two evils. They would be aware that a young person must be educated somewhere, before he reaches the earliest age at which he can be sent to India, and it would not make much difference in expense whether he was educated at a common school or one established by the Company. The early conclusion of his education, and the early period of his proceeding to India, would remove, either wholly, or in a great degree, the objections on the score of expense. They would probably presume also, that as, at a school, the boys would be kept in order by the birch, there would be much less danger of the loss of an appointment. In this, however, they would probably find themselves mistaken. Birch supports discipline, only because it is itself supported by the fear of expulsion: remove this fear, and the effect of the rod will soon cease. In almost all cases, the physical force is on the side of the governed; and few youths of sixteen would submit to be flogged if they did not know that immediate expulsion would be the consequence of their refusal. If the East-India Company

had an establishment for the education of boys from thirteen to sixteen, there is great reason to believe that without the usual gradation of ages from nine and ten upwards, and with any hesitation in resorting to the punishment of expulsion on all the usual occasions, it would be scarcely possible to enforce proper obedience ; and the rod itself would probably be one of the principal causes of resistance and rebellion.

A school therefore, besides excluding at once the great object in view—an education fitted for the higher offices of the government—seemed to present no one intelligible advantage over a college, but that of diminishing, in a smaller degree, the patronage of the Directors. This advantage, to the honour of the Court, was not regarded, in comparison of the advantages which their Indian territories might derive from the improved education of their civil servants; and a college was determined upon.

One of the great objections urged by Adam Smith against the government of an exclusive Company is, that their interests, as a sovereign, are generally considered as subordinate to their interests as individuals, or as a body of merchants. In the establishment of the East-India college, the feelings of the sovereign conspicuously predominated ; and the public did justice to the disinterested motives and the enlarged and enlightened views which prompted the decision.

SECTION IV.

Should the appropriate establishment formed by the East-India Company be in England or India? or should there be establishments in both countries?

THE practical part of this question has been already decided in the Court of Directors by their establishment of an appropriate college in England for the education of their civil servants, and by their resolution to confine the object of their college in Calcutta exclusively to the Oriental languages. But the question may at any time be revived. Feeling present inconveniences and evils from the establishment in England, the Court may again think of reverting to a system of general education in Calcutta. And it may be useful to state, preparatory to any such experiment, the evils and inconveniences which are likely to result from a regular college in India.

In the first place, it is well known that the expense would be beyond all comparison greater than in England, probably, at the least, six or seven times as

great; and though the object of an improved education is of such paramount importance that it is the last quarter in which expense should be considered, yet, if this object can be effectually accomplished upon a more economical plan, there can be no doubt of the duty and propriety of adopting it.

In England the most able instructors may be obtained in all the departments of knowledge and literature at salaries quite moderate, compared with those which would be necessary to induce men of the same attainments to afford their assistance in India; and if to these superior salaries be added the much heavier Pension List that would inevitably accompany them, the difference would be still farther increased.

In England every part of a collegiate establishment, the buildings, the table, the attendance, &c. &c. may be kept within very moderate bounds; but in India, where a certain style of living seems to be expected from all the Company's servants, this would be extremely difficult, and the expenditure under all these heads would be upon a much larger and more extended scale.

In England, at the college now established, not only the personal expenses of the students are supported by their parents and friends, but a hundred guineas a year are paid towards their education. If the two years from sixteen to eighteen were spent at a

college in India, the students would of course be paid the salaries of writers from the time of their arrival ; and, reckoning the average of the yearly admissions at forty, eighty persons more than at present would be living upon the *Indian* revenue. The salaries of the junior writers are 300 rupees a month, or about 450*l.* a year ; and on this article alone, therefore, the present system saves 36,000*l.* a year to the Company.

It may be said, perhaps, that it is not to be wished that the expenses of the necessary education of the Company's servants should fall so heavily upon their parents and connexions, and that it would sometimes be desirable to give appointments to persons whose families could not easily support such an expense. That such instances may occur there can be no doubt ; but, as a general rule, there can be as little doubt that the preparatory education for official situations not only usually is, but ought to be, supported by the families of the candidates themselves, and in the particular case in question it is highly beneficial to the Company's service that the candidates for writerships should be taken almost exclusively from that class of society which may be supposed capable of paying the expenses of a good common education. There is reason to believe, from the information of residents in India, and from the qualifications of some of the students who even now present themselves for ad-

mission to the college in Hertfordshire, that before its establishment persons were occasionally sent out to India so extremely ill-suited to the situations in which they were likely to be placed, both from their previous habits, and the kind of education they had received, that it was scarcely possible to employ them without injury to the service.

The college in India, established upon the Marquis Wellesley's plan, cost in the first year about 76,000*l.* For the two following years the estimates were about 48,000*l.*, but the change of plan prevented the correctness of them from being ascertained. In neither calculation, however, were the additional salaries of eighty students included. These salaries, it was considered, would be paid equally, whether the writers resided in the college, or were less usefully employed in some subordinate offices; and this was certainly true; but the whole of this expense would of course be saved upon the supposition that the two years from sixteen to eighteen were spent in England.

The expense of the college in England, beyond what is paid by the students, and independently of the building, may be estimated at between nine and ten thousand a year, so that the expenses of the college in India would altogether at the least be six or seven times as great as that in England.

Secondly, in point of regularity of conduct and personal expenses, the advantage possessed by the

college in England will scarcely appear less marked than its advantage in point of economy*.

It is generally acknowledged that the young men who go out as writers to India have the power of borrowing money almost to any extent from natives, who speculate upon their future rise in the service; and during the early part of their residence in Calcutta it is but too common to indulge in an expenditure greatly beyond their incomes. They find themselves besides the members of a privileged cast; and the almost arbitrary controul which they exercise over the persons whom they chiefly see about them must have a necessary tendency to foster their caprices, and render them impatient of authority. If to these causes of irregularity we add the seductions of a luxurious climate, and consider at the same time the critical age from sixteen to nineteen at which they are at first exposed to these temptations, it is difficult to conceive a more dangerous ordeal. The deficient discipline of our schools and universities in England has often been the subject of complaint; but it may safely be pronounced, that if our youth from sixteen to nineteen were exposed to the same temptations as they

* I say this with confidence, notwithstanding the clamour that has lately been made in the Court of Proprietors, and in the public prints, about the irregularities prevailing in the East-India college.

would be during a three-years' residence at a college in Calcutta, their discipline would not admit of a comparison with what it is at present.

But it is not only to be expected, according to all general principles, that violations of any regular system of academical discipline in India would be much more frequent than in a similar institution in England, but the means of punishment, when such offences had been committed, would be much more difficult and embarrassing.

It is well known that in all places of education for gentlemen the efficacy of minor punishments is only supported by the final appeal to expulsion. Even in military seminaries, where strict personal confinement is frequently applied, expulsion and dismission from the service are the punishments for continued acts of contumacy and rebellion; and in civil institutions, where the intermediate punishments can scarcely be made so effective, this final appeal is still more absolutely necessary. But in India the expelled students, though not perhaps subsequently promoted to any lucrative situation, would still continue to receive the salaries of writers according to their standing; and if the old plan of sending youths to India without any kind of previous selection or examination were reverted to, and they were never sent back, the number might in time become so considerable as to be a serious weight on the Company's finances.

At a preparatory institution in England, if a young man, either from absolute want of capacity, from determined idleness, or any violent act of contumacy, loses his promised appointment to a writership, and is excluded from the service, there are various other lines of exertion open to him. Some employments may be found at home even for a very feeble capacity ; the most determined academical idleness till nineteen or twenty may yield to the pressure of strong necessity and real business ; and a young man of talents, who from temper, caprice, or any other cause, had been guilty of some violent act of contumacy, might rise to the top of his profession as a lawyer, a soldier, a sailor, or a merchant.

In India there is only one line of employment, and that is the Company's service. A youth, who is expelled from a college in India for any of the causes above enumerated, is expelled by the same authority which disposes of all Indian appointments. If this same authority, after a short interval, promotes him to office even on the supposition that he is then fit for it, an expulsion from the college would come to be considered as of little importance, and its discipline would soon be destroyed.

In the last public examination at the college in India, of which the account has arrived, five students were expelled. Notwithstanding the opportunities of instruction afforded to them, and the repeated

warnings they had received during a protracted stay at Calcutta, they had not acquired such a knowledge of two Oriental languages as would enable them to pass the examination necessary to qualify them for any official situation.

If a test be established any where, either in India or England, and the examination be conducted conscientiously, it may be laid down as a certain consequence that *some*, out of a considerable number of young men, taken without any selection, will fail. If, besides the passing of such a test, obedience be required to a code of academical regulations, however mildly administered, a greater number will undoubtedly fail. And the question is, whether it is not very much better that these failures should take place in England, where various other lines of life besides the Company's service are open, than in India, where they must remain unemployed, a burden to themselves and the Company, or be sent back to Europe at a very heavy expense, and at a more advanced age ; or, what is much the worst of the three, be employed when not properly qualified, to the manifest injury of the Company's service and the interest of their Indian dominions ; or even, if qualified, to the utter subversion of that code of academical laws which had been established as necessary to the proper training and education of their civil servants ?

It is certainly conceivable that parents in narrow

circumstances may wish to get their children off their hands as early as possible, with little regard of the consequences to the Company. But even such views would, probably, be defeated on the establishment of a college for a three-years' course of academical education in Calcutta. As it has appeared that, according to all general principles, more failures might be expected in India than in England, it would soon be found necessary to send back those who failed to their friends in England. It is understood that this measure was once proposed by Lord Minto, in the case of some students who had resided nearly three years in the college without making a progress in any language. The proposition, it is said, was rejected by the Court at home. But if the number of writers so situated were to accumulate in a considerable degree, the proposition for returning them could not be rejected without obviously and grossly sacrificing the Company's interests, and they would then be sent back at a later age, and under much less favourable circumstances for the commencement of a new career of life, than if they had failed at a college in England. But whether this measure would be adopted or not, it must be allowed that those who look solely to a provision for their children cannot be considered as disinterested, judges in a question of this kind. And it is scarcely conceivable that any really disinterested friend to the good government of India,

and the prosperity and credit of the Company, should not say that, if failures must be calculated upon, it is far better, under all the circumstances of the case, that they should take place in England than in India.

Thirdly, in point of efficiency, it can hardly be doubted, that the foundation of a general education would be better laid in England than in India. The most important period in the education of a young man is the period in which he commences a more general course of reading than that which is pursued at schools; and it is of the utmost consequence that this period should be passed under circumstances favourable to habits of study and industrious exertion. But it is not easy to conceive a more unfavourable time for the formation of these habits, and the commencement of new and difficult studies, than the two or three years immediately succeeding the transition from a common school in England to an university in India, at the age of sixteen. Suddenly possessed of an unusual command of money, surrounded by natives devoted to his will, tempted to indulgences of all kinds by the novel forms in which they present themselves, and discouraged from severe application by the enfeebling effects of the climate, he must possess a very steady and unusual degree of resolution to begin a course of law, history, political economy, and natural philosophy, and to continue his classical studies, at the very same time that he is required as his

paramount duty, and the immediate passport to an official situation, to make himself master of two or three Oriental languages. Such a course of general reading may, undoubtedly, be pursued in India at a future time by individuals, during the intervals of official occupation ; but it may be considered as certain that, except, perhaps, in a few rare instances, little or no attention would be paid to these studies in a three-years' residence at Calcutta from sixteen to nineteen, and that, if such a general education be necessary, the foundation of it must be laid in England.

The Marquis Wellesley's college in India had not, it must be allowed, a fair trial. It is hardly just, therefore, to quote it as an example : but, as far as a judgment might be formed of the effects of such an establishment from the manner in which it commenced, it tends strongly to confirm what has been said of the great difficulty of establishing a regular system of discipline, and beginning with success a plan of more general study in an university at Calcutta. The state of the college with regard to discipline is well known, and need not to be entered upon ; and, though other lectures besides those in the Oriental languages were given, they were scarcely ever attended. It has been stated, indeed, by those who have acted as professors at the college in Calcutta, as well as by those who have gone through it as students, that, however great are the advantages it affords in the study of the

Oriental languages, they see no prospect of its ever becoming a place of regular collegiate discipline, and of efficient general education.

But a general course of study, however necessary to the education of those who are to fill the judicial, the financial, and the diplomatic departments in India, or assist in the administration of the Government as Members in Council, is not alone sufficient: and the highest intellectual endowments would be of little avail without a knowledge of the Oriental languages. A certain knowledge, therefore, of these languages, must always be considered as a *sine qua non* in the appointment to official situations. This knowledge will, indeed, do little without any other combined with it; but no knowledge can do any thing without the means of communication with the natives.

Two objects therefore are to be kept in view; one of the highest utility, and the other of paramount necessity. As a foundation of general knowledge is best laid in the West, and the necessary languages are best acquired in the East, it seems highly probable that two establishments, one in England, and the other in India, may be required to accomplish most effectively the objects in view:—the English establishment to give as good a general education as can be communicated within the age of 18 or 19, with some instruction in the rudiments of the Oriental languages; and the Indian establishment to be confined exclusively

to these languages, and particularly to act as a final test, as far as languages go, of qualification for office.

It has been found, by experience, that those young men, who go out to India tolerably well grounded in the rudiments of the Oriental languages, can, without difficulty, pass the necessary test within the year, and many of them pass it in six months. Upon this plan, therefore, the time taken up in the preparatory education for the civil service would scarcely be greater than upon the Marquis Wellesley's plan. But, even if it were somewhat greater, it is probable that the interests, both of the service and of individuals, would be promoted by this change. It is certainly the opinion of some of the writers themselves, that, even since the establishment of both the colleges, they are advanced to important situations in the judicial line at too early, rather than too late an age. And it by no means follows that the going out to India a year or two later implies a proportionally later return.

The period in which a fortune is made, ought not to be dated from the time of arrival in India, but from the time at which accumulation commences. And, if a year or two more spent in Europe be employed in such a manner as to send the young writer out, not only with superior qualifications for office, but with a greater degree of general prudence, he is likely to begin saving sooner, and will, perhaps, return with a fortune at an earlier age than if he had been exposed

from the age of fifteen or sixteen to a three-years' residence at Calcutta, and the heavy debt which too frequently accompanies it.

No time therefore is really lost either to the service or to individuals by the period devoted to education in England. And, as the expenses of the Indian college, in its present state, without buildings, without a table, without a Principal and Professors of European literature, and general management, and with the limited number arising from only a year, or a year and a half's residence, may be kept within very moderate bounds, there can be no doubt, on the whole, that the present system of education in the two colleges, compared with a regular university course in India, is much more economical, most efficient with regard to general knowledge, and exposed to fewer difficulties in point of discipline and personal dissipation and extravagance.

SECTION V.

Does it appear that the College actually established in Hertfordshire is upon a plan calculated to supply that part of the appropriate education of the civil servants of the Company which ought to be completed in England?

WHEN the Court of Directors declined sanctioning the collegiate establishment proposed by the Marquis Wellesley, they did not hesitate to acknowledge the necessity of an improved education for their civil servants ; and it was for the specific purpose of securing to them such an improved education before they left England, without detaining them till the usual age *at which an university course finishes* (to which detention the Marquis had objected), *that the Court of Directors founded the institution in Hertfordshire.*

At this institution the students commence a course of more general instruction than is to be found at schools, nearly at the same period that they were to commence it in India according to Lord Wellesley's

plan, and *yet* proceed to their destination at eighteen or nineteen, an age at which the constitution is better fortified against the Indian climate than two or three years earlier, but not sufficiently advanced to be open to those objections urged by Lord Wellesley against a detention till twenty-one or twenty-two.

In the East-India college, so constituted, the plan upon which the system of discipline and instruction is conducted seems to be well calculated to answer the purpose in view. Every candidate for admission into the college is required to produce a testimonial from his schoolmaster, and to pass an examination in Greek, Latin, and arithmetic, before the Principal and Professors. This previous examination at once prevents persons from offering themselves who have not received the usual school-education of the higher classes of society; and those who offer themselves, and are found deficient, are remanded till another period of admission.

The lectures of the different Professors in the college are given in a manner to make previous preparation necessary, and to encourage most effectually habits of industry and application. In their substance they embrace the important subjects of classical literature, the Oriental languages, the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, the laws of England, general history, and political economy.

• At the commencement of the institution it was

feared by some persons that this variety would too much distract the attention of the students at the age of sixteen or seventeen, and prevent them from making a satisfactory progress in any department. But instances of distinguished success in many departments at the same time have proved that these fears were without foundation ; and that this variety has not only been useful to them in rendering a methodical arrangement of their hours of study more necessary, but has decidedly contributed to enlarge, invigorate, and mature their understandings.

On all the important subjects above enumerated, examinations take place twice in the year, at the end of each term. These examinations last above a fortnight. They are conducted upon the plan of the great public and collegiate examinations in the universities, particularly at Cambridge, with such further improvements as experience has suggested. The questions given are framed with a view to ascertain the degree of progress and actual proficiency in each particular department on the subjects studied during the preceding term ; and the answers, in all cases which will admit of it, are given in writing, in the presence of the professors, and without the possibility of a reference to books. After the examination in any particular department is over, the Professor in that department reviews at his leisure all the papers that he has received, and places, as nearly as he can,

each individual in the numerical order of his relative merit, and in certain divisions implying his degree of positive merit. These arrangements are all subject to the controul of the whole collegiate body. They require considerable time and attention, and are executed with scrupulous care and strict impartiality.

Besides the classifications above mentioned, medals, prizes of books, and honorary distinctions, are awarded to those who are the heads of classes, or as high as second, third, fourth, or fifth, in two, three, four, or five departments.

These means of exciting emulation and industry have been attended with great success. Though there are some, unquestionably, on whom motives of this kind will not, or cannot, operate, and with whom, therefore, little can be done; yet, a more than usual proportion seem to be animated by a strong desire, accompanied by corresponding efforts, to make a progress in the various studies proposed to them.

Those who have come to college tolerably good scholars, have often, during their stay of two years, made such advances in the classical department as would have done them great credit, if they had devoted to it the main part of their time; while the contemporary honours which they have obtained in other departments have sufficiently proved that their attention was not confined to one study: and many, who had come from public and private schools at

sixteen, with such low classical attainments as appeared to indicate a want either of capacity or application, have shewn by their subsequent progress, even in the classical department, and still more by their distinguished exertions in others, that a new field and new stimulants had wrought a most beneficial change in their feelings and habits, and had awakened energies of which they were before scarcely conscious.

There are four or five of the Professors thoroughly conversant with University examinations, who can take upon themselves to affirm that they have never witnessed a greater proportion of various and successful exertion in the course of their academical experience than has appeared at some of the examinations at the East-India college.

With regard to the discipline of the establishment, it will be readily allowed that it has not been, in all its parts, so successful. It is well known that disturbances have occasionally taken place, which, at the moment, have shewn, in a considerable body of the students, a total disregard of the rules and regulations of the college. The principal causes of these disturbances will be the subject of inquiry in the next section ; but it is proper to observe here, that the public would form a most incorrect notion of the general state and character of the discipline, and the general conduct of the students, if they were to draw hasty inferences

from these temporary ebullitions. When they have subsided, few traces of their past existence are to be found ; and in common times the whole business of the college proceeds with a degree of decency, order, and decorum, which has often been the admiration of strangers, and would be perfectly satisfactory to every competent judge.

In their moral conduct, the students of the East-India college may be advantageously compared with those of either University, or the senior part of any of our great public schools ; and they are rather singularly free, than otherwise, from the prevailing vices which beset young men of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen, particularly when collected together in a large body.

It is from such comparisons, and the general results which appear in after-life, and not from individuals, or individual offences, that any rational judgment can be formed of a place of education.

On the whole, perhaps it is not too much to assert, that, taking literary and moral character together, a considerable proportion of the students of the East-India college, who have proceeded to India, have left it with more improved understandings, a greater quantity of useful knowledge, fitted for the early discharge of public business, and more steady habits of application and good conduct, than could be found among any set of young men taken in the

same way, and at the same age, from any place of public education in Europe: and *some of them* with such distinguished attainments already acquired, such means of acquiring more, and such fixed habits of honour and integrity, that no situation, however high, would be above their powers or beyond their deserts.

It will be asked, however, as the main question, whether the good effects which may be presumed to result from the establishment in England have practically been perceived and acknowledged by competent judges in India? To this question an answer may be decidedly given in the affirmative. The young men who arrive at the Calcutta college from the college in England are not examined respecting their progress in general knowledge. On this point, therefore, there can be no specific testimony. But with regard to *general conduct and character*, and such a knowledge of the Oriental languages as greatly to abridge the period of study at Calcutta, the testimony is most explicit, and from the highest authority.

In 1810, Lord Minto, after having noticed particularly a certain number of students who had greatly distinguished themselves, adds, “ It is with peculiar pleasure that I do a further justice to the Hertford college, by remarking, that the official reports “ and returns of our college will shew the students

“ who have been translated from Hertford to Fort William to stand honourably distinguished for regular attendance,—for obedience to the statutes and discipline of the college,—for orderly and decorous demeanour,—for moderation in expense, and consequently in the amount of their debt;— and, in a word, for those decencies of conduct which denote men well born, and characters well trained. I make this observation with the more satisfaction, as I entertain an earnest wish to find it proved that the preliminary tuition and general instruction afforded to the succeeding generations of the Company’s servants at Hertford will be found of more *extensive* (I should be disposed to say, more *valuable*) influence even for India, than a greater or smaller degree of proficiency in a language or two of the East can prove at that early period.”

In 1812, the following passage occurs in a letter from the College Council of Fort William to the Governor-General in Council, dated December 29, and recorded in the Bengal Public Consultations of the 1st of April, 1814:—

“ We take the liberty of repeating in this place the observations made by the Right Honourable the Visitor, in his speech, pronounced at the Disputation, holden 22d September, 1810, that the improvement (a very great and general one) which

“ we have thought ourselves warranted in asserting,
 “ has been very conspicuous in the conduct of the
 “ students who have passed through the college
 “ at Hertford. We trust and believe that this is no
 “ accidental circumstance; but at all events the fact
 “ is, in our opinion, certain, that, due regard being
 “ paid to numbers, no similar institution can afford
 “ a greater proportion of young men more distin-
 “ guished by the manners of gentlemen, and general
 “ correctness and propriety of deportment, than the
 “ present students of the college at Fort William.”

At nearly the same period this improvement in the general conduct of the students is spoken of as an acknowledged fact, in a letter from Captain Roebuck to the College Council, at Fort William, dated Nov. 10, 1812, and recorded on the Consultations before mentioned:—“ As I believe (he says) it is generally admitted as a fact that the students now in college, compared with former years, are much steadier in every respect (which is, perhaps, owing to their previous education at Hertford college), I can account,” &c. &c.

At the Public Disputation in 1815, Mr. Edmonstone, who acted as Visitor in the absence of Lord Moira, after adverting to the objections that had sometimes been made to the college, on the ground of the conduct of the students, observes—“ To whatever extent the change might have been justly appli-

"cable at some period of the institution, I have the satisfaction to know that, at the present time, instances of deviation from the maxims and rules of prudence and propriety (for such must always exist in every large association) are exceptions to the general system of conduct observable among the students of the college." He then goes on to say—"This gratifying improvement may, perhaps, be traced to sources *beyond this establishment*"—evidently alluding to the acknowledged effects of the institution in England.

These public testimonies from the college at Calcutta are confirmed by the accounts of individuals who have returned from India within the last six or seven years, who agree in stating that what has been sometimes called the New School of Writers at Calcutta is very superior indeed, both in conduct and attainments, to those who were sent out upon the old system.

The period when the conduct of the junior servants of the Company appears to have been most marked with dissipation and irregularity was in the interval between 1801 and 1808 or 1809, when great numbers were collected together in Calcutta at the early ages of sixteen and seventeen, without being subjected to a regular system of discipline, as intended by Lord Wellesley; and the marked improvement so generally acknowledged may fairly be attributed to the estab-

blishment of an intermediate place of education in England, which prevents the sudden removal of a boy of fifteen or sixteen from the strict restraints of a school to the dangerous liberty of a residence at Calcutta.

At the college in England each student has a separate room, in which he breakfasts, drinks tea, and prepares his lectures. This mode of living gives him the opportunity of choosing his own society, and teaches him the habit of regulating his own time; while the discipline is still suited to an age two or three years younger than the average age at the universities; and industry and application are encouraged by every moral incitement which can stimulate the youthful mind. A habit of study so acquired must be the best possible preparation for a residence at Calcutta, and the best preservative against its allurements. And, though it cannot be expected that all should acquire these invaluable habits, yet much is done if they are acquired by a considerable body. Besides, all will be detained in England till eighteen or nineteen—an age when they may be fairly supposed to know better how to conduct themselves in a situation in which they are subjected to no discipline. And, owing to this same detention, all will reside a much shorter time at the college in Calcutta, and find themselves surrounded by a much smaller number of associates. These are causes calculated to operate

favourably on the whole mass, and not only to lessen the shock of the first transition, but to diminish both the duration and amount of the dangers to which they are exposed.

Under these circumstances it cannot be a matter of surprise that the general conduct of the students at Calcutta should have greatly improved since the establishment of the college in England.

On the effect of the college in England in abridging the period of stay at the college in Calcutta, the testimonies are equally satisfactory.

At the public disputation of 1810, before adverted to, Lord Minto says, "That the studies of Hertford will abridge those of Fort William cannot be doubted. This has already been proved."—He had before indeed observed, that the college of Fort William had already derived some of its most distinguished ornaments from Hertford. "I do not speak," he says, "of the merit to which I now allude in comparison only with that of contemporaries of the present year, but I would place it confidently in parallel with the best and brightest period of our college." To warrant this homage, justly and impartially paid to the early fruit of the new (not rival, but associate) institution, he names eight students from Hertford, who had eminently distinguished themselves. Of these the average period of stay at the college of Fort William was about a year, although some of them had delayed their going longer than was neces-

sary ; and three had acquired a proficiency in no less than four Oriental languages.

In 1811, the documents furnish the means of a more accurate comparison. In that year the number of students which left the Calcutta college qualified for official situations was twenty, of whom the number from the college in Hertfordshire was twelve, *viz.*

Six who left the college after six months' residence.

Two after eight months.

One after nine months.

One after two years.

Two after three years.

The number of students who left the Calcutta college at the same time, but never were at the college in Hertfordshire, was eight, *viz.*

Three after a residence of two years and a quarter.

One of three years.

One of three years and a quarter.

Two of four years.

One of four years and a half.

In the one case, the average stay is about ten months ; in the other, three years and two months.

It will be unnecessary to go through all the different years ; indeed, the means for so doing are not at hand. They will, of course, be subject to considerable variations, arising from the natural variations to

be expected at different times in the mass of talent and industry in the college, and probably in some years the average period of stay may be as much as a year and a half. The summary of the last year of which the account has arrived is as follows: Of eighteen students who left the college, six had resided only six months; two, ten months; eight, about a year and a half; and the other two, three and a half and four and a half years.

In most years one or two are to be found, who, either from inability or idleness, make no progress in the languages. They are detained in consequence a considerable time, and are generally involved deeply in debt. It would unquestionably be much better for the service, and probably for the individuals themselves, if they had never gone out; and, as their characters are generally pretty well known previous to the natural time of their departure, the authorities of the college in England ought to be allowed, quietly, and without clamour and opposition, as a regular and very important part of their duty to the Company, to refuse their certificates.

Such cases, however, appear to be quite as rare as could possibly be expected; and the very short period in which the great body of the students from Hertford college acquire the requisite proficiency in two languages, and many of them high distinctions in three or four, sufficiently proves that a foundation in these

languages laid in England, and a power thus given of pursuing the study of them during the passage, has a most marked effect in abridging the period of stay at Calcutta.

Lord Moira, at the public disputation of 1814, alludes to the considerable progress made by Mr. Stirling in the Oriental languages prior to his entry at the college by studying at Hertford, and during his voyage to India: and to this, in part, he says, is to be attributed the extraordinary short period in which such extensive knowledge and attainments seemed to have been gained. Mr. Stirling had only resided in India six months; and in fact it appears, that in almost every year a considerable proportion of the students of Fort William, who have passed through the East-India college at home, attain the required qualifications in that short time; and among these are generally to be found some of the most distinguished proficients in the Oriental languages. Lord Moira afterwards observes,—“ This is not a seminary, at “ which the students in general are to be taught the “ first rudiments of the Eastern languages. It has “ become, like our Universities at home, a public in-“ stitution, affording those advantages necessary “ to perfect the knowledge of the different branches “ of Oriental literature.” These expressions cer-“ tainly imply a tolerable foundation in the Ori-“ ental languages brought from England. An idea

seems to have prevailed at Calcutta that the college of Fort William might be superseded by the establishment in England ; but it may fairly be allowed that the attention paid to the Oriental languages in England neither can, nor ought, to be such as, generally speaking, to prevent the necessity of a much farther progress after the arrival in India, as a qualification for office. When it is considered that the period of residence at the college in England is only two years, it is quite obvious that the whole of that time exclusively devoted to Oriental study would be insufficient for the purpose in question, while, in the attempt to attain it, the main object of the English institution (which unquestionably is, or ought to be, to lay the foundation of a sound and enlarged European education) would be entirely sacrificed.

Lord Minto, at the public disputation of 1813, speaking of the insufficient knowledge of the Oriental languages acquired at the Hertford college, observes,

“ It is not to be concluded from thence that the
 “ time allotted to attendance on that institution has
 “ been unprofitably spent; because *most wisely*, in
 “ my opinion, the preliminary education of the Com-
 “ pany’s young servants is not confined to studies
 “ *merely Oriental*; but, together with the classical
 “ *instruction of the West* (*without which no English*
 “ *gentleman is on a level with his fellows*), *I under-*
 “ *stand that a foundation of polite literature is laid*,

“ and that the door is opened at least, and the pupil’s mind attracted, to the elements of useful science; the seeds of which being sown, a taste for intellectual exercise and enjoyment is implanted, which seldom fails to develop and mature these first germs of knowledge at the appointed season.”

If, instead of being employed in this way, so justly approved of by Lord Minto, the students at the college in England were to devote their whole attention to the acquisition of an imperfect knowledge of two or three Oriental languages, and, as soon as they arrived in India, were immediately employed up the country in subordinate official situations, it is not easy to conceive a species of education less calculated to improve and enlarge the understanding, and to produce men able and willing to infuse the principles of British justice into a government over sixty millions of Asiatics.

There is nothing, then, which the enlightened friends of good government in India should less wish to see, than the attempt so much deprecated by Lord Minto, in his last speech, of substituting an English education in the Oriental languages for the genuine and practical instruction which is obtained in India; and the English college itself will be perfectly ready to acquiesce in the final opinion given of it by Lord Minto,—that the elementary knowledge acquired there operates sensibly in accelerating the progress of

Oriental studies, and abridging the period necessary for a full qualification at the college of Fort William; but that the institution of Hertford college cannot be expected ever to supersede the necessity of maturing and perfecting Oriental knowledge at the college of Fort William.

The true friends of the college in England will be perfectly satisfied that it fully answers its purpose, and supplies that part of the appropriate education of the civil servants of the Company which ought to be completed at home,—if it effects an essential improvement in the conduct and character of the young men sent out to India;—if it considerably shortens the period of their residence in the college at Calcutta, devoted to the acquisition of the Oriental languages;—and if it lays such a foundation of general knowledge as will greatly facilitate the subsequent pursuit of it, and qualifies a much greater proportion of the civil servants of the Company to discharge with adequate ability the increased and increasing number of high and important trusts which must necessarily be confided to them.

That the college has actually accomplished, in a very considerable degree, the two first of these objects, is clearly proved, it is conceived, by the direct testimonies contained in the foregoing pages. The last object can hardly be the subject of direct testimony; but it may fairly be presumed that this purpose

is accomplished, if an enlarged and improved understanding be considered as useful in conducting the administration of a great empire, and if it is known that the studies in the East-India college are of a nature calculated to attain this qualification, and that a progress has been made in these studies fairly proportioned to the time employed upon them.

SECTION VI.

Are the disturbances which have taken place in the East-India college to be attributed to any radical and necessary evils inherent in its constitution and discipline, or to incidental and temporary causes, which are likely to be removed?

SOME of the difficulties which have been experienced in the government of the college are, perhaps, to a certain extent, inherent in its constitution.

In the first place, an attempt to give a collegiate education, and to place under collegiate discipline persons of an age from two to three years younger than the average age of admission at our universities, may not be in its nature easy. It is generally allowed that the age from fifteen or sixteen to eighteen is the most difficult to govern. It is precisely that period when the character makes the most rapid change in the shortest time. Two or three years at this critical era convert a boy into a man ; and any system of dis-

cipline intended to apply to the time when this change *is taking place, which happens to be the very time of the residence at the East-India college, is likely to be exposed to various and very opposite objections, according as the earlier or the later age is chiefly considered.*

At great schools, where boys sometimes stay till they are eighteen, the seniors in age, who are generally at the same time in the highest classes, form a kind of natural aristocracy, which not only may safely and justly be allowed greater liberties and privileges than others, but may be made, and, in fact, are made, of the greatest use as an intermediate authority to assist in the government of the rest.

In the East-India college, on the contrary, on account of the period of residence being only two years, and some being admitted at eighteen or nineteen as well as at fifteen and sixteen, there is no such natural aristocracy of age, standing, and acquirements ; and it is hardly possible either justly to separate the seniors from the juniors, and allow them distinct privileges, or to make effective use of them, as at great schools, in the administration of the discipline.

The second permanent difficulty which the college has to contend with is the chance that some of the young men, whose parents have obtained appointments for them, may be indisposed to the service, and not really wish to go out to India. Such a

temper of mind will, of course, naturally indispose them to submit to the discipline of the college, or to profit by the education which it offers to them, and will, at the same time, make them most pernicious and dangerous examples to others.

The Directors have endeavoured to get rid of this evil by exhorting all those who feel indisposed to the service quietly to withdraw from the college. But it is to be feared that this exhortation, though obviously just and proper, will not often have the desired effect. Instances have not been uncommon of a persevering opposition to the regulations of the college, which could only be rationally accounted for by supposing a positive disinclination to the service; and yet, if the student has, in consequence of his irregularities, been sent home for a time to his friends, their influence has generally produced letters containing expressions of the greatest contrition for past offences, the most solemn assurances with respect to future conduct, and the most anxious desire to proceed to India—professions with which the conduct of the student after his return to college has seemed in no respect to correspond. It is to be feared that there are young men who would prefer expulsion, on occasion of some general disturbance, when many are involved, to an open and manly rejection of an appointment which is considered by their parents as so valuable; and these feelings, where they exist, are obviously of a

nature to produce a most unfavourable effect upon the discipline.

The third inherent difficulty, which the college has to contend with, is one which at first sight might be thought an advantage, namely, the great interest that each student has at stake, and the consequent severity of the punishment of expulsion. This great severity most naturally produces, both in the governing body in the college, and in the Court of Directors, an extreme unwillingness to resort to it. But the more this unwillingness is perceived, the more advantage will be taken of it, and the more instances will occur of acts *of insubordination*. *It is quite certain that neither of our Universities, nor any of our great schools, could support their discipline for a single year, if they were to shew any hesitation in appealing to the punishment of expulsion—if this punishment, in short, were not always ready as an alternative on a refusal to do impositions in the one case, or to submit to corporal correction in the other.* But besides regular expulsions, which are resorted to occasionally in all places of education, to support the discipline, it is still more common to desire the parents of boys, whose habits are bad, and who are doing mischief to others, quietly to remove them. In the Universities, and at great schools, such hints are always taken as commands, and it is no doubt a most effectual mode of breaking combinations, and preventing the spread

of mischief, without exciting public sensation. But in the East-India college no parent can be persuaded to take a step which involves the loss of an appointment. As valuable property is concerned, it is considered that nothing but some great and overt act of immorality or rebellion can justify such a punishment; and unless some such act can be brought forward, which, of course, in many cases, must be extremely difficult, neither a quiet removal nor regular expulsion takes place; and the unavoidable severities of the penal code thus paralyze the arm of authority. On this ground it may justly be doubted *whether the regulation not long since passed by the Court, to exclude from the military, or any other branch of the Company's service, those young men who had been expelled from the college, can be considered as a wise one.* The punishment of expulsion at the college was too great before, and this regulation has made it still greater; and if the natural unwillingness of all parties to resort to this punishment should increase from this or any other cause, rather than diminish from a sense of duty to India and to the public; the great power of the Directors over the young men at their college, which, if properly managed, might secure the most beneficial results, will be converted into a source of perpetual weakness and inefficiency.

These are, no doubt, difficulties, to a certain extent

inherent in the institution ; and, in order to overcome them, it is obvious that the discipline should have every help that can be given to it ; that the powers granted to those who are to administer it should be fully as large and as little subject to cavil and controul as those which are found necessary in other places of education ; that the system pursued should be marked by steadiness, uniformity, decision, promptness, and impartiality ; and, particularly in reference to the two last difficulties, that there should be no doubt or delay in visiting with expulsion either such single acts as would be so punished at great schools and the Universities, or such a persevering violation of the rules of the college as either indicates an indisposition to the service, or a presumption that patronage or mistaken lenity would, under any circumstances, prevent the entire loss of an appointment.

If it be asked, whether such have been the powers possessed, and such the system pursued, the answer must certainly be in the negative ; and when it is known that very great adventitious difficulties in the government of the college have been added to the natural difficulties already noticed, it may not be a subject of surprise that those parts of the discipline most likely to be affected by such causes should have failed.

In the original constitution of the college, it was not thought expedient by its Founders to intrust the

power of expulsion to the collegiate authorities. As expulsion involved the loss of a very valuable appointment, the Directors wished to reserve it in their own hands; and, in all cases of great importance, the Principal and Professors were directed to report to the Committee of College, and to wait their decision. It was in consequence believed by many students, that, unless the offence was peculiarly flagrant, they would run little risk of losing their appointments, and that their powerful friends in the India-house would make common cause with them in defecating the decisions of the College Council. This opinion seems to have commenced early, and to have diffused itself pretty generally; and there is little doubt that it contributed to facilitate the rise of that spirit of insubordination which began to manifest itself in the third year after the college was established. It must be obvious that no steady system of discipline could be maintained while the Principal and Professors were, on every important occasion, to appeal with uncertain effect to another body, where the student hoped that his personal interest would prevent any serious inconvenience. Yet this continued to be the constitution of the college for a period of six years, during which there were three considerable disturbances. On these occasions, of course, the Directors were called in; and although the more enlightened and disinterested portion of them, who saw

the necessity of an improved education for their servants in India, were, unquestionably, disposed to do every thing that was proper to support the discipline ; yet, the proceedings respecting the college were marked by an extraordinary want of energy, promptness, and decision, and indicated in the most striking manner the *disturbing* effects of private and contending interests. On occasion of the last of these disturbances in particular (that of 1812), the management of which the Court took entirely into their own hands, they detained a large body of students in town for above a month ; and after entering into the most minute details, and subjecting all the parties to repeated examinations at the India-house, came to no final decision. The case was then referred back again to the College Council, who were desired to select for expulsion a certain number of those concerned, who should appear to them to have been the most deeply engaged as ringleaders, and the least entitled to a mitigation of sentence on the score of character. When this was done, and a sentence of expulsion passed in consequence on five students, a subsequent Vote of the Court restored them *all* to the service, and they were sent out to India without even completing the usual period of residence at the college !!!

If we consider the real difficulties belonging to such an institution, in conjunction with the uncertain and in-

efficient system of government above described, and recollect, at the same time, that, from the very commencement of the college, there has been a large party connected with India entirely hostile to it, the gradual rise and prevalence of a spirit of insubordination in the college will appear to be vastly more natural and probable than a contrary spirit.

But when a spirit of insubordination and resistance to discipline has once deeply infected any collected body of persons, it is well known how strong a tendency it has to keep itself up ; how easy, and almost certainly, the contagion spreads to fresh comers ; and how extremely difficult it is effectually to eradicate it.

It is but a short time since the Principal and Professors of the East-India college have been legally invested with those powers in the management of the discipline which are found necessary at great schools and the Universities, and which ought therefore unquestionably to have been given to them at the commencement of the institution. They are called upon to correct and rectify a system of government which it is at length acknowledged has been essentially defective for many years ; and, strange to say ! an inference seems to be drawn against the whole establishment because it is not already completed ! Yet what is the task they have to accomplish, and under what circumstances have they undertaken it ? They have not *only to overcome by a steady and uniform system of*

discipline the natural difficulties inherent in the institution, but, by an union of conciliation, firmness, and the strictest impartiality, to mitigate and gradually extirpate the spirit of insubordination, which, by long unskilful treatment, has infected the institution ; and this is to be done, not only without the cordial co-operation of all the natural patrons and protectors of the college, but with a spirit of direct hostility in a considerable body of the Directors and Proprietors, and a disposition in the public to take part with those from whom they hear most of the college, with little or no inquiry into the real merits of the case. The practical effect of this hostility is nearly the same as if the authorities in the college did not yet possess full powers in the management of the discipline ; and as no sentence of importance has yet been passed without occasioning a minute inquiry and investigation, which puts the college, as it were, regularly upon its defence, and very few, without giving rise to a most determined and persevering opposition, it is quite impossible that the students should be fully impressed with the idea that the power of punishing really rests in that quarter, where all parties would agree that it must be the most effectual in repressing acts of insubordination.

A further evil consequence of this hostility is, that language is publicly used and reports generally circulated, calculated to fill the minds of the students with

the most unfavourable prejudices. In general, when a parent sends his son to a school or to the University, he endeavours to impress him with a respect for the place to which he is going, and the authorities to which he will be subject. It is to be feared that some young men come to the East-India college with very different impressions ;—with the impression of having heard the college abused, and its downfal prognosticated, by those whom they must of course look up to as the persons that ought to influence their feelings and direct their conduct. It is scarcely possible that the students who come to the college thus prejudiced should ever feel that attachment to the place of their education, the effects of which are on every account so desirable ; and it is difficult to conceive that an uniform spirit of order and obedience should prevail among those who have frequently heard that another *row* would destroy the college, and effect that object which they had been taught to consider as desirable. It is not meant to be asserted that any of the patrons or friends of the students have *directly incited them to rebellion* ; but that the opinions which they have held, and the incautious language which they have used, must upon young minds necessarily have produced the same effects.

Whether it is possible for any set of men contending against such disadvantages, to make the college what it ought to be, is a point on which it is difficult to pro-

nounce a decided opinion. At all events, it will be allowed that time is necessary as well as attention and ability.

Independently of other difficulties, time alone can overcome those that essentially and unavoidably belong to *every new institution*. *If the proper executive powers had been given to the college at first, and it had been at all times fully supported by its founders and patrons, it would certainly have been rash to have pronounced finally on its competence or incompetence to fulfil its intended purpose, in a less time than that which has now elapsed since its foundation—about ten years.* But these powers, though now formally granted, cannot yet appear to the students to be undisputed, and can scarcely have begun to have their natural operation. Surely, therefore, it would be still more rash to pronounce finally on what may be done, in a less time than another ten years; as it will be allowed that a considerable portion of that period must unavoidably be spent in correcting the effects of past errors.

The main and almost single object to be accomplished, is to eradicate the tendency to occasional acts of insubordination.

Notwithstanding the late virulent attacks, it may be confidently asserted that this tendency, and the unpleasant consequences which necessarily result from it, form the only just ground for stating that the col-

lege has not fairly answered the purpose for which it was instituted.

When the general good order of the college is considered, notwithstanding the natural difficulties adverted to in the beginning of this section, it is scarcely *possible to conceive that this evil should not be susceptible of cure*. But, to produce this effect, it is necessary that a full and perfect conviction of the stability of the institution, and the steadiness with which the collegiate authorities are able to maintain their decisions, should by repeated experience be fully impressed on the students.

That this has not yet been done, the persevering efforts that have been made to shake some late decisions, and the idea that has prevailed that an application would be made to Parliament to withdraw its legislative sanction from the establishment, afford sufficient proofs. And till this has been done, it may confidently be asserted, that nothing approaching to a fair experiment, has been made of the practicability of removing the only essential evil of which the college justly stands chargeable.

The supply of competent and well-disposed servants to fill the high official situations of India is the object to be accomplished; and that plan which, consistently with the present legal and constitutional relations of the Company with the Government, most

effectually attains this object, is the plan which ought to receive the sanction and support of the Legislature.

If the Legislature thinks that the institution of the college was an error, and that the acknowledged and glaring deficiency in the education of the Company's civil servants upon the old system, may be supplied in some other way more effective, and less subject to difficulties, let it at once be abolished. But if no plan presents itself which holds out a fair prospect of doing what is specifically wanted better than the one actually established, let the existing institution be supported in such a manner as to put an end to all that doubt and uncertainty which is so fruitful a source of offences.

If the statutes and regulations of the college are faulty, *there are legal means of altering them; if the Principal or Professors are from any cause whatever incompetent to their situations, all or any of them may be removed: but if the establishment itself be a proper one, and destined to answer a very important purpose, it should be so fully and cordially supported as not to be liable to be shaken by the caprices of a few young men.* Such caprices it is impossible to answer for in an establishment not as yet sufficiently sanctioned by time, and to which the parents and friends of many of the students are known to be hostile. But by steadiness within, and strong support without, they may undoubtedly be rendered at first ineffectual, and by degrees

be prevented from shewing themselves in acts of insubordination.

It has been sometimes stated as extremely hard that a young man and his parents should suffer so severe a loss as that of an appointment to India on account of a few irregularities in early youth; but this argument, if it were allowed, would be conclusive against all laws. It is surely still harder that a man should sometimes suffer capitally for irregularly supplying some of the most pressing wants of nature.

But even with reference solely to places of education, the East-India college is by no means the only one where valuable property may be lost by misconduct in early youth. At Winchester, for instance, the boys *on the foundation succeed in a regular course to fellowships at New College, Oxford*, which may be considered almost in the light of a provision for life, and are valued by parents accordingly; yet on one occasion, not many years since, a greater number was expelled, and lost this valuable provision, than has been expelled during the course of the ten years that the East-India college has been established, although in the one case the institution was old, and in the other new. Many other instances might be mentioned of considerable loss of property incurred by misconduct in an early age at our great public seminaries.

It will however very rarely happen that a young man, whose habits and attainments would qualify him

to become an useful servant of the Company, should be so unfortunate as to subject himself to the punishment of expulsion. Such a case, however, may possibly happen, and, when it does, it must be considered as a painful, but necessary, sacrifice to those general rules, the gross violation of which cannot be passed over without a sacrifice of much greater and more general interests than those of an individual and his connexions.

With regard to young men of a very different description, it cannot surely be a matter of regret, in any public view at least, that those who have shewn headstrong, refractory, and capricious tempers, united with habits of idleness and dissipation, should not be allowed to go out to India, and be furnished with an opportunity of tyrannising over its suffering inhabitants, and of bringing the English name into hatred and disgrace. All the offices in India may not require talents; but all must require a certain degree of industry, good conduct, and inclination to the service. And, beyond all question, one of the most important uses that the college can answer, one of the means by which it may confer the most extensive benefits upon India, is, by separating from the service those whose habits appear to be of a nature only to encumber, impede, and injure it.

The collegiate authorities now legally possess the power both of expelling, and of refusing certificates; but,

unfortunately, from the disposition shewn by the founders and patrons of the college, and that part of the public connected with India, in every case where the loss of an appointment is in question, a full support in the exercise of this power cannot be depended upon; although there can be no doubt that every act of collegiate punishment that is unopposed and unquestioned tends to render such acts in future less necessary; and every act that is so opposed and questioned tends to increase the probability of the recurrence of that conduct which had called it forth.

If this difficulty could be removed, the best hopes might be entertained of the result. And if the college were so supported, as to enable it gradually to subdue the spirit of insubordination, by removing refractory and vicious characters without clamour or cavil, and to exercise its discretionary powers in refusing certificates, according to the letter and spirit of its statutes, and with a view to the real interests of the service and the good of India, there is the strongest reason to presume, from the testimonies of what the college has already done, and the further good effects which might be confidently expected from the results just adverted to, that it would answer, in no common degree, the important purpose for which it was intended.

SECTION VII.

Are the more general charges which have lately been brought against the college in the Court of Proprietors founded in truth? or are they capable of distinct refutation by an appeal to facts?

IT has been stated already in Section VI. that the only plausible grounds for saying that the college has not fully answered its purpose are the occasional disturbances which have taken place in it; and these disturbances have been traced to the difficulties which have been constantly thrown in the way of a firm and uniform exercise of collegiate authority. But in the Court of Proprietors, on the 18th of December, the most unmeasured accusations of every kind were heaped on the college. Mr. Hume is said to have affirmed, that, instead of its being a place where young

men are formed in their morals, prepared in their character, and qualified in their education, it was the disgrace of England, and of every person connected with it ; that it was incessantly the scene of riot, disorder, and irregularity ; and that the inhabitants, who lived in the neighbourhood, were in a state of perpetual dread and alarm from the wanton excesses committed by the students.

These are indeed most serious charges ; and if they were true, or even approaching to the truth, such a state of things must have produced a very marked deterioration of character in the young men who have gone out to India from the college. But, instead of this deterioration, what are the accounts from Calcutta ? They are, that Lord Minto, Governor-General, the College Council of Fort William, Captain Roebuck, the Secretary of the College and Examiner, and Mr. Edmonstone, the first in Council, have all left written testimonies that a very great and general improvement had been conspicuous in the conduct of the students who had passed through the college at Hertford, and that they stood honourably distinguished, in the language of Lord Minto, “ for regular attendance, for obedience to the statutes and discipline of the college, for orderly and decorous demeanour, for moderation in expense, and consequently in the amount of their debts, and, in a word, for those decencies of conduct which denote men well born,

“ and characters well trained.” Now, it is well known, that some little jealousy and fear of the college in England have occasionally prevailed among the friends of the college in Calcutta, owing to the idea, that the use of the latter might be superseded by the establishment of the former. Such testimonies are therefore the more honourable to those who gave them, and the more to be trusted by those who really wish to know the practical effects of the college in England on the conduct of the Company’s junior servants in India. And under these circumstances they must be considered as *facts* which furnish a direct contradiction to the affirmation of Mr. Hume. *They shew that, in the judgment of the most competent and disinterested authorities, the students at the East-India college are formed in their morals, prepared in their character, and qualified in their education, for the important stations they are likely to fill, and that the Hertford college, instead of being the disgrace of England, has been rendering, and is rendering, most essential service to India.*

I certainly would have no connexion with an institution which could *justly* be considered as the disgrace of England; but I should think it a pusillanimous desertion of a good cause if I were to allow myself to be driven away by a clamour which I know to be founded either in interest and prejudice, or in an utter ignorance of what the college really is.

The testimonies above alluded to*, and more fully detailed in Section V., are really of the kind to determine whether the college answers its purpose or not; but, instead of referring to any such *facts*, or endeavouring to get information from competent and disinterested judges, who have spent some time in the college, and have been astonished at the scene of order and regularity which they witnessed, after the absurd rumours they had heard on the subject, Mr. Hume seems to have sought for the character of the college from fathers irritated at the merited punishment of their sons, and from some Hertfordshire country gentlemen, tremblingly alive about their game,—two of the most suspicious quarters from which information could possibly be obtained.

Every man acquainted with our Universities and public schools must know, that young persons may come to them from a domestic education, apparently innocent, and yet in less than two years richly deserve to be expelled. Instances of the kind have fallen within my own observation at Cambridge, and yet I mean to send my only son there, if I can afford

* These testimonies are further confirmed by the letters of all the most distinguished students in India who have passed through the college in England, and by all the civil servants I have met with who have returned from India within the last five or six years, without a single exception.

it, as the best place of education that I know. But, in the instance about which Mr. Hume seems to have made so silly a parade, I believe there was never any question of innocence. Let Mr. Hume candidly and manfully produce the name of the person who is now become an outcast of society from the contagion of the East-India college. Let his previous character be traced ; and let it be seen, by an *appeal to facts*, whether he was not much more likely to corrupt others than to be corrupted himself. His example indeed could hardly have failed to produce a most pernicious effect, if the good sense and moral feelings of the great majority of the students had not induced them, from the very first term of his residence, to shun his society.

It is utterly astonishing to me that a man of sense, a man of the world, and a friend to the good government of India, as I before thought Mr. Hume was, should lend himself to retail the ebullitions of disappointed fathers, who, however justly they may be pitied, are the very last persons that should be heard as authorities, particularly as it is known that there have been persons of this description, who, after *having vainly attempted by misrepresentations and menaces to intimidate the college authorities, have most imprudently and rashly, as well as wickedly, vowed to pursue them with the most determined hatred and hostility.*

With regard to the country gentlemen of Hertfordshire, the other suspicious source from which Mr. Hume appears to have derived his information, they are of very high respectability, and I feel much indebted to them for the uniform personal kindness and attention they have shewn me; but I cannot conceal from myself, nor can they conceal from me, that, with one or two splendid exceptions*, they have been from the very first inveterate enemies of the college. They prophesied early that the building would become a barrack, and their conduct has not been unfavourable to the accomplishment of their prediction. It would seem to be from this quarter, or some of their friends, that the materials were furnished for the querulous paragraph in the *Times*, about the Principal being made a justice of the peace without a foot of land in the county †. Now I would willingly appeal to the most competent judges of the persons who ought or ought not to be made justices of the peace, with a view to the maintenance of the

* The most distinguished one is Lord John Townshend, the nearest neighbour of the college, whose property almost surrounds it.

† Dr. Batten, as a clergyman having a considerable *benefice* in Lincolnshire, is as legally qualified to become a justice of the peace as any magistrate on the bench, nor was his appointment in any respect different from any other justice of the peace in the county, as falsely asserted by the *Times*.

police of the country, whether the head of so large an establishment as that of the East-India college, situated two miles distant from any town, should not be one. The appointment was recommended by the President of the Board of Controul, Lord Buckinghamshire ; and though it has never been used, and probably never will, in the maintenance of discipline, as it relates to students, it was unquestionably a highly proper one. Such observations, therefore, on this subject, as those in the *Times*, only throw ridicule on the persons who make them.

Having mentioned the *Times*, I cannot help noticing the novel and strange doctrines promulgated in a scurrilous paragraph about the college, on the 27th of December, in answer to *Maro*, who has no connexion with the college. I could not have conceived it possible that any English writer, with the slightest pretension to character, would have dared to avow that a lad of seventeen or eighteen, who offends against the criminal laws of his country, is not amenable to those laws, because he happens to be a gentleman's son, and to be resident at some school or college. The editor of the *Times* has made this sentiment his own by the manner in which he has inserted it ; otherwise I should have thought that it could only have come from the father of some worthless sons, who, being conscious that they were likely to commit offences deserving of imprisonment, pillory, and *public.*

whipping, was very desirous, as he might well be, of finding some plea for getting them off with a *private* flogging. With regard to the scandalous and libellous insinuation at the end of the paragraph in question, let every inquiry be made on the subject, and the more minute and accurate it is, the more agreeable it will be to the college.

But to return to the country gentlemen of Hertfordshire ; I can most readily enter into their feelings, in not liking an establishment of eighty young men, from sixteen to twenty, in their immediate neighbourhood. Had I the choice of settling in a country residence, I should certainly avoid the vicinity of Oxford or Cambridge, Eton or Harrow. They may be fairly allowed, therefore, to wish for the removal of the college ; but on that very account they may be legitimately challenged as witnesses against it, at least till they come forward with their names, and produce specific charges. Let some three or four of them, and the same number of the respectable inhabitants of Hertford, declare conscientiously, and on their honour, “ that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the college live in a state of perpetual dread and alarm, from the wanton excesses committed by the students,” and I will then believe what I have not the slightest ground for believing at present ; but, till some such proof as this is offered, I maintain that an appeal to facts would shew that

the asseveration of Mr. Hume is absolutely untrue, and founded on some grossly false, and probably anonymous, information.

Of the general conduct of the students, I can affirm, from my own knowledge, that they are beyond all comparison more free from the general vices that relate to wine, women, gaming, extravagance, riding, shooting, driving, than the under graduates at our universities ; and, I really believe, more free than the head classes of our great schools. If I were to send my son to the East-India college, I should feel he was in a safer situation in all these respects than either at Eton or Cambridge. To those who will not judge on these subjects by comparison, but, without any knowledge or experience of what can be done with young people, have formed Utopian views of youthful innocence and perfection, which they expect to see realised, I have nothing to say.

Mr. Randle Jackson has been pleased to state, that he does not mean to propose the abolition of the establishment, but merely its reformation, and conversion *into a school*. *He thinks that the education given at the college is not of the right kind, and that it is not necessary to make young men mount to the higher rank in literature, in order to teach them “ to weigh “ tea, count bales, and measure muslins.”*

If the main business of the great majority of the civil servants of the Company really were to weigh

tea, count bales, and measure muslins, something might, perhaps, be said for Mr. Jackson's opinion ; but what is the statement of the ablest Governor-General that India ever saw? It is, “ that commercial and mercantile knowledge is not only unnecessary throughout every branch of the judicial department (which includes much more than half of the service), but those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit.” * * * *. “ *No more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world, no qualifications more various and comprehensive can be imagined, than those which are required from every British subject who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India.*” These are the offices for which Mr. Randle Jackson, in a fine vein of irony and eloquence, laughs at the absurdity of sending out well-educated men, under the happy image of a little army of Grotiuses and Puffendorfs.

But the judicial, though the largest, is far from being the sole department quite unconnected with trade. The financial and political departments employ a considerable body of the civil servants ; and the

fact really is, that, out of four hundred and forty-two persons in the civil service in India, only seventy-two, including the collectors of the customs, have any connexion with trade ; and even these, Lord Wellesley says, should have many of the qualifications of statesmen *. Such being the *facts*, according to the testimonies of the Marquis Wellesley, and the India Register, which, I presume, are better authorities than that of Mr. Jackson, is it not perfectly obvious that the education of the civil servants should be fitted for the high and important stations held by the great body of them, and that those who are comparatively unsuccessful in the career of improvement should supply the departments where less abilities are required ? To talk then, in the present state of India, of an education fitted for weighing tea, counting bales, and measuring muslins, betrays a degree of ignorance and folly, of which I did not think Mr. Randle Jackson capable.

But Mr. Jackson is not satisfied with saying that the education at the East-India college does not accord with his own narrow views on the subject. He joins lustily in the clamour about violence and licentiousness, and then, with a view to give greater force to his next argument, he observes, that it would be a great palliative of this general mis-

* See Sect. I. p. 10.

conduct if the friends of the college could come forward, and refer to their progress in literature, as a counterpoise to their boyish levities ; but that unfortunately this could not be done, as would appear by an extract he would read from a Report furnished by the college itself. Now, notwithstanding this extract and others, the false inferences from which I will presently advert to, I, as *a friend* of the college, and with much better opportunities of information on the subject than Mr. Jackson, do come forward and assert that its literature has been on the whole eminently successful ; that the papers produced at every public examination shew no common degree of industry and talent in the various branches of learning to which they are applied ; and that the progress made in the Oriental languages is clearly and irrefragably proved by the rapidity with which the students from the East-India college are able to qualify themselves for the final examination at the college of Fort William ; and, consequently, that an appeal to *facts* directly contradicts Mr. Jackson's assertion. Let the Oriental Visitor, Dr. Wilkins, be asked his opinion on the subject ; and, though I well know he differs from me on *some points* relating to the form of the institution, I know he is too honourable a man not to avow in public what he has distinctly said to me in private ; namely, that the very short time in which a large portion of the students passed through the college at Calcutta was a clear

proof that they must have come from a good place of education for the Oriental languages at home.

With regard to the extract first read by Mr. Jackson, it seems to have been taken from the Report of the Oriental Visitor in December, 1815, in which it appeared that a certain number of students (five, I believe, out of twenty-nine) had been unable to pass the Oriental test. To draw from this circumstance an inference that the Oriental languages had not been well taught at the East-India college would be the same as to *infer that education at Cambridge was extremely ill conducted, because some men almost every year are refused their degrees; or that the classics were not well taught at Eton or Westminster, because they send forth every year into the world some incorrigible blockheads.* The proper inference, in general, ought only to have been, that the students in question were not proper persons to send out to India. But, in the individual instance referred to, there really was something to be said for them. It was the very first time that the Oriental test had been applied; it was in some respects an *ex post facto* law, not having been announced till the third term of the residence of those students who were first subjected to it; and they were, further, not sufficiently aware of the nature and extent of it. Whether this was a sufficient excuse for the petition made to the Court, and the indulgence granted, I will not venture to give an opinion, thinking it quite

irrelevant to the question. In the next examination of May, 1810, only one student was detained another term; and, in the one just passed, none failed. This last examination indeed has been particularly distinguished by extraordinary eminence in some departments of Oriental literature, combined with the most successful exertions in European studies.

The next document adverted to by Mr. Jackson, from which he seems absurdly to have drawn very large inferences, is a confidential Report, of May, 1816, made by the College Council to the Committee of College in the India-house, candidly describing those fluctuations in the amount and direction of the mass of talent and industry in the college, which must necessarily take place in every institution in which the studies are various. It is a homely, but a true, saying, that you may bring a horse to the water, but cannot make him drink; and, though all the students at the East-India college are required to attend the stated lectures appointed for them, on pain of impositions, yet no rational person can suppose that their attention can be directed, at all times, in the same measure and quantity, to each. Could any thing on earth be more natural than that, when a test was appointed in the Oriental languages *exclusively*, the students should think that Oriental literature was more highly appreciated by the Honourable Court of Directors than the other branches of learning taught at the college, and that they ought,

therefore, to direct towards it a greater portion of their time? And yet the relation of this simple fact has been twisted into an inference, that the students at the East-India college are allowed to do just as they like with regard to the choice of their studies. What a prodigious ardour for misrepresentation does this shew! I will just add, in reference to the last paragraph of the extract on which so much stress has been laid, that if such a report was unhappily required from the great schools of the country, and was given with the same frankness, it would appear that no very inconsiderable proportion of the boys might fairly be said, *in spite of the rod*, to have abandoned the only studies of the place.

The extraordinary part of this business is, not the Report itself, but the place where it is now to be found, —the public newspapers!!! It may shortly be expected that the monthly Reports of conduct, which have lately been required, will be published in the same way, and that the gentlemen of the college will be subjected to prosecutions for libellous aspersions on the characters of some of the students, by calling them irregular. In point of fact, the formal threat *of a prosecution for a libel, through the channel of a lawyer's letter*, was really sent to the Registrar of the College not long since, in consequence of a detailed Report being required of the character of a young man,

whose certificate it was impossible for the College Council, consistently with their duty, to grant.

But to return to Mr. Randle Jackson. The great weight and force of his eloquence seem to have been directed to shew the use and advantage of flogging, and the disadvantage of caps and gowns. He is reported to have pronounced, with very great energy, the following pithy maxim : "That those who did "not *understand* should be made to *feel* ;" and the sentiment seems to have been received by repeated and long-continued cheers.

Now flogging may be a very good thing in itself, but I am totally at a loss to conceive what Mr. Randle Jackson, and his friends in the *Times*, can mean by considering it as a *substitute* for expulsion. Let any master of a great school in the kingdom be asked whether he could maintain discipline by mere flogging, unsupported by the power of sending his boys away ; and, unless his opinion is given in direct contradiction to his practice, he will say, that it is perfectly impossible. Only the other day, four or five boys were expelled from Harrow. Last year, five, I believe, or more, were expelled from Eton. And experience shews that even the black-hole and military discipline will not do *.

* No Englishman will, I trust, venture to propose a military system for the education of the future administrators of justice in India. This would be taking hints from the late Emperor of France with a vengeance. But, after all, it appears, that it will not supersede banishment and dismissal.

At this present moment *five* are banished from the military seminary of the Honourable the East-India Company, at Addiscombe, of the merits and efficacy of which so much has been said.

One would really think that the people who talk about the wonderful effects of corporeal correction had not only never been at a great school themselves, but had never seen a man who had been at one. A more chimerical project scarcely ever entered into the brain of a visionary than that of superseding the use of expulsion among youths of sixteen by mere school-flogging.*

With regard to caps and gowns, they are evidently useful in discipline, by rendering concealment more difficult; and pointing out the individuals, who may be occasionally seen without them, as bound upon some expedition contrary to the regulations of the college. *And if, in addition to this obvious use, they have, in the present case, contributed to inspire some manly feelings rather earlier than usual, they have, in*

* Not long after Dr. Keat became head master of Eton, he is said to have flogged eighty boys in one day, most of them above sixteen. But what gave him the power of exercising this act of discipline? Solely and exclusively the power of saying, "If you "do not submit, you no longer belong to Eton school." Nor would the *threat* have been sufficient, if it had not been known that he could have put it in execution without the slightest opposition, and would unquestionably have done it if the boys had not complied.

my view of the subject, been of service. The objections, which have been made by Mr. Jackson and others to this innocent badge, are perfectly ridiculous. As to the Universities, they must be much above feeling the slightest jealousy on the subject; and every rational man belonging to them must heartily laugh at the laudable zeal of the London citizens, to inspire them with a becoming dread of such a horrible usurpation.

If the Honourable Court of Directors, sanctioned by the Legislature, should determine to abolish the establishment in Hertfordshire as a college, I do most earnestly and most conscientiously recommend to them not to have any *appropriate* institution for the education of their civil servants. They may entirely rely upon it that the main difficulty attending the present establishment, instead of being removed, will, in some respects, be aggravated by its conversion into a school, and they will entirely fail in accomplishing what ought to be the great objects of an education for the Indian civil service. If I were to describe a narrow education, one the least calculated to infuse a "spirit of British justice into the "government of sixty millions of Asiatics," it would be the taking boys at thirteen from the common schools of the country, placing them in a seminary where the Oriental languages were considered as the only passport to India till sixteen, and then sending them into

offices up the country to act as copying-clerks, with only one or two, perhaps narrow-minded Europeans to converse with,—a system expressly and specifically reprobated by Lord Wellesley. When a youth is reading Demosthenes and Cicero, or even Homer and Virgil, he is unquestionably gaining something besides mere words, something that will tend to invigorate, enlarge, and improve his mind ; but, when he is applying to the Oriental languages, he is really getting little more than the possession of an instrument. Of the great importance, and indeed absolute necessity, of this instrument for the service in India, it is impossible for any man to be more convinced than myself. I believe even that I was the first that proposed the present test in the Oriental languages, as the absolute condition of a final appointment to India. It is unquestionably true that no important station in the East can or ought to be held by persons not acquainted with these languages. It is equally true that no important situation under the French government ought to be held by a person who does not understand French. But it really appears to me that it is taking as narrow a view of the subject to consider *the Oriental languages as all, or nearly all, that is necessary in the education for the civil service*, as to say that any man who understands French is qualified to be a French judge or a French minister of state. Far better than such a narrow education, still em-

barrassed with all the difficulties about expulsion, would be the taking boys from the common schools of the country at about seventeen, and subjecting them to a strict examination in classical literature, and in the rudiments of the Oriental languages : the first to shew that they had received the education of gentlemen, and that their minds were improved and capable of improvement ; and the second to ascertain that they had made some progress in the languages absolutely necessary to their future destination. These are specific qualifications which might be distinctly described, and it might be left to the parents of those who were likely to be appointed, to put their sons in a way to acquire them wherever they might choose.

This system would, without doubt, be better calculated to give able servants to the Company, than the narrow education just described. But still it would be subject to great disadvantages ; and, independently of the loss of the more general education which is given in the present college, and seems to have had the best effect in invigorating and improving the mind, there would be nothing to break the sudden transition from school discipline to the perfect liberty of a residence in India.

If I had no connexion with the college, or with India, further than the interest which every Englishman ought to feel in the good government of the Indian territories, and yet could speak with the same know-

ledge of the subject as I can now, after an attention to it for ten years, I am confident that I should say that the specific object which ought to be aimed at by the Honourable Company, in the education for the civil service, is precisely that which is so much reprobated by Mr. Jackson, and others in various quarters, namely, that of endeavouring to inculcate, gradually, manly feelings, manly studies, and manly self-control, rather earlier than usual. Those who go out to India must and will be men the moment they reach the country, at whatever age that may be; and there they will be immediately exposed to temptations of no common magnitude and danger. To prepare them for this ordeal, Mr. Jackson and the silly writers in the *Times* recommend their being whipped till the last hour of their getting into their ships. I own it appears to me that the object is more likely to be attained by a gradual initiation into a greater degree of liberty, and a greater habit of depending upon themselves, than is usual at schools, carried on for two or three years previously, in some safer place than Calcutta.

The attempt is not without its difficulties, and may be subject to partial failure; but I am quite convinced that it is mainly to the success of this attempt, notwithstanding the tremendous obstacles which have been opposed to it, that the great and general improvement in the conduct of the students at Calcutta must be at-

tributed ; and if the college is destroyed, and boys are sent out to India fresh from the rod, it will soon be seen that this improved conduct will no longer be remarkable.

The *system* of the college is, I really believe, not far from what it ought to be*. That there are faults in the administration of it will be readily allowed, some perhaps within, (for what administration is faultless?) but many more and much greater without. Among these are the multiplicity of its governors, consisting not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Court of Proprietors ;—the variety of opinions among them, some being for a college in England, some for a college in Calcutta, some for a school, and some for nothing at all ;—the constant discussion arising from this variety of opinion, which keeps up a constant expectation of change ;—the interest of individuals to send out their

* Little other change is wanting than that an appointment should be considered, in spirit and in truth, not in mere words, as a prize to be contended for, not a property already possessed, which may be lost. If the Directors were to appoint one-fifth every year, beyond the number finally to go out, and the four-fifths were to be the best of the whole body, the appointments would then really be to be contended for, and the effects would be admirable. Each appointment to the college would then be of less value, but they would be more in number, and the patronage would hardly suffer. A Director could not then indeed be able to send out an unqualified son. But, is it fitting that he should ? This is a fair question for the consideration of the Legislature and the British Public.

sons as early, and with as little expense of education, as possible, an interest too strong for public spirit;—the very minute and circumstantial details, in all the proceedings of the college which are required, to be seen by all the ladies and gentlemen who are proprietors of India stock;—the impossibility of sending a student away without creating a *clamour from one end of London to the other, greatly aggravated and lengthened by the power thus furnished*, of debating every step of the proceedings;—the chances that the details above adverted to will enable some ingenious lawyer to find a flaw in the proceedings, with a view to their reversal;—the never-ending applications made to the college, when a student is sent away, for re-admission, assuming every conceivable form of flattery and menace;—the opinion necessarily formed, and kept up in this way among the students, that sentences, though passed, will not be final;—and, above all, the knowledge they must have, from the avowed wish of many of the proprietors of East-India stock to destroy the college, that a rebellion would be agreeable to them.

How is it possible to answer for the conduct of young men, under such powerful excitements from without? For my own part, I am only astonished that the college has been able to get on at all, under these overwhelming obstacles; and that it has got on, and done great good too, (which I boldly assert it

A
VIEW
OF THE
SYSTEM AND MERITS
OF THE
EAST-INDIA COLLEGE
AT HAILEYBURY;
BEING THE
SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH
DELIVERED IN
THE COURT OF EAST-INDIA PROPRIETORS,
On the 27th February 1824;
WITH ADDITIONS.

By ROBERT GRANT, Esq.

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MOTION

MADE BY

THE HON. D. KINNAIRD.

“ That application be made to Parliament, in the pre-
“ sent Session, for the Repeal of the 46th Clause of the
“ Act of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, by which the Court
“ of Directors is prohibited from sending to India, in the
“ capacity of a Writer, any person who shall not have
“ resided during Four Terms at the Haileybury College.”

P R E F A C E

THE publication, in a separate form, of the Speech which is contained in substance in the following pages, was long since urged on the author by some personal friends ; but the pressure of other occupations, an aversion to a public appearance without necessity, and an extreme unwillingness to extend a particular discussion beyond the limits of the time and the place to which it properly belonged, prevented his compliance with the solicitation. The general prevalence, however, of an opinion that the proposition which formed the subject of the discussion, and which the Proprietors at that time rejected by a large majority, is now about to be carried into actual effect, overbears all opposing feelings, and induces him respectfully to submit the ensuing work to the Public.

The only important additions to the Speech as pronounced, consist in observations, first on the insufficiency of a

mere

mere test of qualification as a security for the due education of the Company's civil servants;* secondly, on the proposal to educate the Civil Servants at the English Universities;† and thirdly, on the argument derived from the allegation that the want of Civil Servants in India is greater or more urgent than the College at Haileybury, under the present system, can supply.‡ Each of these topics was distinctly brought before the Proprietors in the course of the debate; and it was the purpose of the author to observe on each when he addressed the Court; but, fearful of adding to the large demands he found himself making on the attention of his audience, he confined himself to a short and partial comment on the first topic, and to a slight mention of the second; and the third he passed wholly without notice. If report may be credited, those subjects have a peculiar relevancy at the present moment. The author has therefore thought it necessary to bestow particular consideration on each, adapting his remarks to the measures rumoured to be in contemplation; and he has interwoven what it occurs to him to offer on them with the text of the discourse—a liberty, by which he conceived he should best consult the convenience of the reader, and to the use of which it did not appear that there could be any objection, where *it was avowed*.

A short

*Pp. 86-90. † Pp. 97-105. ‡ Pp. 106-108.

A short note, however, is subjoined to the speech, relating to matters of a date subsequent to the debate, and which could not have been introduced into the report without producing confusion.

In omitting, as immaterial to the general discussion, some observations made on one of the College-Statutes, and also an allusion with which the address closed, the author deems it incumbent on him to state, that he has seen no reason to vary the views which he suggested on the former point, and that he retains in undiminished force the feelings which he expressed on the other.

ROBERT GRANT.

30th December, 1825.

S P E E C H,

8c. 8c.

MR. CHAIRMAN :

I cannot better preface what I have to offer on this subject, than by expressing my gratitude to the Honourable Proprietor by whom it was introduced, for the candour, the good temper, and the good feeling with which he debated it. Concurring as I do in the remark which has been made by several speakers, that discussions like the present tend to produce injurious consequences, I must yet observe, that I should see less reason for deprecating such discussions, if they were always brought forward and conducted in the tone and manner recommended and exemplified by the honourable gentleman to whom I have alluded.

For my own part, I am under no temptation to deviate from the example which has thus been set me. I have on this occasion a sacred duty to perform ; and I should shew a very inadequate sense

of its nature and its obligations, if I attempted to discharge it by an appeal to passion or prejudice. I admit, indeed, that on some parts of the subject there are recollections which disqualify me from the exercise of that severely dispassionate judgment which such a discussion demands ; but those very recollections operate on me as a powerful guard against the use of all irritating topics, unfair reasoning, or exaggerated representations, and will, I trust, effectually restrain me to the limits of plain, simple, and uncoloured statement. By no other course could I satisfy the sentiment which has compelled my present appearance. My only desire is, that the subject should be viewed distinctly and exactly according to what I think its real merits : I wish the Institution which is now in question, not to be favoured, but to be approved ; and so strong is this impression, that not even an unanimous vote in its support would content me, unless I believed the decision to be pronounced with an impartiality which, for myself, I no longer even pretend to feel.

Before I proceed, I will beg to premise that, even if I concurred in the objections which have been urged against the system now established for the education of the civil servants of the East-India Company, I could by no means assent to the present motion.

The

The measure which the motion proposes is wholly negative, and would leave us without any security that our civil servants shall be duly educated. It is true that those gentlemen who have supported the motion, have concurrently recommended plans for securing the object of education, and especially that of a test of proficiency, to be applied through the medium of public examination; but not one of those plans is embodied in the proposition itself. Now I conceive that, if we meditate the institution of such a test, or the establishment of any other positive substitute for the present system, we ought distinctly to suggest that idea in any application we may make to the legislature, and not to communicate to them merely the negative half of our plan: nor would it satisfy me to be told in reply, although I believe I should be told this very truly, that, whatever question we may send to Parliament, the only question which Parliament will really take into consideration, will be the general question, by what mode British India may best be supplied with civil functionaries? and that thus, while we are proposing simply the repeal of a particular regulation, we shall in effect set afloat the whole of a vast inquiry.

In arguing the question, however, I have no objection to connect the consideration of it with that of the plans recommended by the supporters

of the motion ; but, even so treating it, I think it wholly unnecessary to enter into all, or even most of the topics which have occupied the attention of preceding speakers. A great deal has been said of the injustice of the laws of the College. Now the point to be debated is, whether a certain clause in our Charter-Act, which compels the writers appointed by the Company to serve a certain number of terms in the College at Haileybury, shall be repealed or not ; and unless it can be shewn that the particular laws which are thus complained of, either have emanated from the clause the repeal of which is proposed, or are in some way necessarily connected with its continuance, I see not to what purpose they are introduced into the debate. If the regulations of the Institution be thought faulty, let an inquiry into them be set on foot ; and if the result justifies the previous suspicion, let the Directors be requested to confer with the Board of Control for the purpose of a thorough revision : this would be the natural course in such a case, and not a proposition for superseding the necessity of resorting to the Institution altogether.

The question then, as stated, seems to me to resolve itself into two very plain divisions :—First, has the present system in any fair or reasonable degree

degree answered the purposes for which it was intended ? and, secondly, is there any rational probability, that the same purposes would be better answered by the proposed substitutes ? With reference to the first point, if the institution has reasonably fulfilled the purposes for which it was formed, then there is a strong presumption against any change whatever ; as to the second, if it can be shewn that the proposed substitutes are not at all likely to fulfil those purposes, then, in addition to the strong presumption against *any* new plan, there will be an irresistible presumption against the *particular* plans recommended.

Between the honourable mover and myself, the former of these questions is not open to much debate ; for that gentleman, to a great extent, admitted, and admitted very candidly, the merits of the College. But other speakers having argued that the Institution has completely failed, and one gentleman having even professed to refer to facts in support of that assertion, it really becomes important to examine the justice of such charges. Similar charges have repeatedly been made out of doors ; and, among others, I myself have been taunted with some predictions which I am represented to have made seven years ago in favour of the College, and have been asked, in a tone of triumph, what I have now to offer in justification of

of prophecies which the event has so glaringly disproved ?

Now it is a very trite remark, that a great deal of controversy would be saved if disputants would begin by defining their terms. When, therefore, it is said that I prophesied the success of the College, and that it has not succeeded, I beg to ask what meaning is to be attached to the word *success* ? The court and the public have been told, in glowing terms, of tumults, and expulsions, and rejections, and the irremediable ruin of young men, in consequence of the deprivation of their Indian appointments. I believe I have felt as deep a sympathy with the relations of the young men thus disappointed as the keenest of the complainants. To some of those cases there have been strong reasons why I should not be indifferent : but am I therefore to admit that my anticipations respecting the Institution have been falsified ? In what sense—for I recur to the question—did I predict its *success* ? I told you that it would succeed as a place of probation for the youths destined to civil appointments in India,—that it would be most useful as affording a standard of qualification, as furnishing a fit and discriminating test of merit. All this I said, because I firmly believed. But a place of probation in which there should be no failures—a standard of qualification which every candidate,

candidate, however casually selected, should reach—a test which should try nobody—a measure which should fit everybody—this is a sort of chimera which I was so far from predicting, that the very possibility of its existence never entered my imagination. I knew then, as I know now, that if you chose to establish a system of education, which in its nature should be not only institutional but probationary,—if you appointed tests and trials, and, collecting promiscuously a definite number of individuals, proclaimed that all of them who could not successfully undergo those tests and trials should be rejected,—and if, after this, you were fond enough to believe that there would be *no* rejections, that *all* would pass the muster, that everybody would be found to stand the test and to emerge victorious from the trial, then indeed you were indulging hopes and expectations, utterly inconsistent with the immutable laws of probability, and would have none but yourselves to thank for your disappointment.

The true criterion—the only criterion of success which can be applied on such an occasion, is a very simple one ; and it is immediately suggested by the very nature of the case : what are the purposes which the Institution was intended to answer, and have those purposes in a *fair degree* been fulfilled ? I say *in a fair degree* ; for in arguing this question

tion it is my wish, and it shall be my endeavour, in conformity with the judicious warning of an Honourable Proprietor* on a former day, to avoid that exaggerated praise which only tends to injure its object. I have never predicated of this establishment—I know not of what human establishment it could be predicated—that it possessed the quality of perfection. In the course of the debate, indeed, it has been said that the advocates of the College held it up as an absolute paragon—as *one entire and perfect chrysolite*. I know not who were the eulogists alluded to. What I have myself said is on record ; and if it contains any sentiment so extravagant, let the passage be produced. I believe that those who most warmly defend the College against unjust censure, and proclaim its real excellencies, best know the nature and measure of its real defects. Its faults are not indeed great, and they are in a considerable degree capable of removal, but it must be by a very opposite mode of treatment to that which its adversaries recommend.

The object of the establishment being to qualify the great body of the individuals destined for the civil service of the Company, the test of its efficiency must be sought in the actual qualifications of

* Mr. Twining.

of those whom it has educated. The opinion of Lord Wellesley has repeatedly been quoted in proof of the deficiencies of the great body of the civil servants in India, previously to the institution of the collegiate establishments at Fort-William and Hertford. "It must be admitted" (observes that enlightened statesman) "that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of the empire; and that it is particularly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial, and political branches of the government. The state of the civil service of Madras and Bombay is still more defective than that of Bengal." In the course of the debate, it has been contended that this delineation is overcharged. Possibly the noble author may here and there have admitted a shade too much into his graphical and masterly portraiture; as, on the other hand, it is very possible that the advocates of the Company, in their zeal to defend the civil servants against the unjust aspersions often cast on them, may occasionally have been betrayed into the contrary extreme of a description tending to flattery. The question, however, let it be observed, is not whether the Company's servants exhibited courage, and constancy, and ability in those national contests, which led to

the acquisition of our dominions in India. Even Adam Smith has admitted their merit in these respects ; but it has been most conclusively shewn by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Malthus, that a system which produces the martial energies adapted to seasons of danger and daring, is not necessarily productive of those less-shining qualities which are required for the business of ordinary government. The heroism that can *win* empire has no natural affinity with the wisdom and virtue that *improve* and *consolidate* it. Yet, even here, no competent or impartial observer will pretend that the civil service exhibited a mass of defectiveness, even at a much earlier period than the administration of Lord Wellesley, and especially after the memorable reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis. Many deserving civilians, and some of great and even of singular eminence, have appeared ; and for integrity in the discharge of public duty, the whole body has long been highly distinguished. There can, however, be no doubt that the meritorious servants alluded to, had to struggle against the serious disadvantage of a considerable quantity of incompetency, or at least of imperfect qualification, among their brethren, and particularly among the juniors. Lord Cornwallis occasionally found much difficulty in filling offices adequately ; and both Lord Cornwallis and his successors were sometimes

sometimes compelled to resort to the class of the military service, for the discharge of civil functions. This is not the language of disparagement. The merits of the civil servants in the times to which I refer, and their merits were neither few nor inconsiderable, were their own ; their defects were the fruit of their situation and circumstances.

But, whatever may be thought of the former state of the civil administration, there cannot, with respect to the qualifications of the persons now engaged in that administration, be two opinions. I speak in the hearing of numbers who have the means of immediately verifying my statements, when I assert that, in point of public spirit, practical knowledge, general ability, enlightened views, and personal disinterestedness, the service never stood at so high a pitch of excellence as at the present moment. It is not merely improved ; it is in a state of progressive improvement. All testimony, public and private, concurs in representations to this effect ; nor can those representations be heard without exultation, by any member of a Company which has been the object of so many eloquent invectives, for the alleged oppression or misgovernment of the fair provinces consigned to its guardianship.

Now, a partial fondness for my subject shall not induce me to attribute all these happy effects

to the institution of the East-Indian College. I well know that they may be ascribed to a conspiracy of causes:—to the general energy of the administration both at home and abroad—to the increasing overflow of public opinion from Europe to India—to particular regulations of great wisdom introduced by the Government in India; and among these I would especially mention the simple, yet important rule, that no civil servant shall employ in his office any of his native creditors—a provision that has greatly diminished, if it has not entirely eradicated, that unlimited facility of credit, which was the great canker of the junior departments of the civil service. I am sensible, also, that circumstances may have contributed to produce the result, the precise operation of which no analysis can trace; for the great merit of a good system of polity is, that it is in its nature a self-ameliorating system—improvements springing up here and there spontaneously, like those delicate plants which are found to grow wild in a fine climate. Still, among the causes whose agency has concurred in bringing about this state of things, I claim no mean place for the College at Haileybury; and I will shortly state the grounds on which that claim is founded.

In the first place, it will, on calculation, appear that, of the whole body of civilians now in India, about

about five-sevenths obtained their education at the College; and I ask whether I advance an extravagant position, when I contend that some portion of the admitted amelioration of the entire mass must have been derived from the seminary which has supplied so many of the individuals themselves? Is it too much to assume, that the richness of the stream is in a degree to be attributed to this its principal feeder?

Secondly; there is this remarkable distinction betwixt past and present times: that, in the former periods of the Company's history, the improvement descended from the higher to the lower members of the civil body, while now the reverse takes place, the progress of improvement moving from the junior members upwards. I will not quote documents at any length to establish the fact of the amendment of the junior division of the service, a fact which almost every person in court must have the means of ascertaining for himself. I may appeal, however, generally to that succession of authorities which I am presently about to cite for direct testimonies in favour of the College at Haileybury. At this moment I refer to them, not for the opinion, which may perhaps be objected to, of the influence of that institution in ameliorating the service, but for the fact of such amelioration, about which they could not possibly

possibly be mistaken. When Lord Minto, in 1810, passed high commendations on the deportment of the students derived from Hertford—when General Hewitt, in 1811, and Lord Minto, in September 1812, bore witness to the accelerated progress of the students at Fort William in the study of the Oriental languages—when Captain Roebuck, in November 1812, asserted, as a generally admitted fact, the greatly increased steadiness of conduct among the students at Fort William—when, in December in the same year, the College Council of Fort William remarked the very great and general improvement of those students—when Mr. Edmonstone bestowed a similar eulogy on that body in 1815: granting all these persons to have erred in their manner of accounting for the good effects, the existence of which they attested, at least their attestation as to the fact is unimpeachable. And then I ask, whether, in producing the improvement of the younger civilians, thus proved to have taken place during a given interval of time, the improved system of education for that body, which during the same interval was in force in Europe, must not necessarily have had a considerable share?

To crown these testimonies, I will beg to read a passage from the last address of the Marquess of Hastings, as visitor of the College of Fort William.

liam. It was delivered in August 1822; and it will be observed, that I cite it simply as evidence of the merits of the junior division of the civil service. Referring to the instructions in the Oriental languages attained in the College at Calcutta, Lord Hastings observes, " I will rest the argument " upon the rapid succession of young men, who, " after a rigid and impartial examination, have " been declared competent to the service of the " state, by their acquirements in the necessary lan- " guages. Not to dry official tasks alone: we have " a proud consciousness that our functionaries " have the capacity, not merely of discharging " adequately their engagements to their employers, " but that they possess, also, the means of render- " ing incalculable service to the native inhabi- " tants, by readily communicating explanation, " instruction, or advice. The ability, however, " to do this would be of little value, were the dis- " position wanting. It has not been wanting. " With exultation I have learned from all quar- " ters, the kind, the humane, the fostering spirit " manifested towards the natives by the young " men whom the College has sent forth to public " trusts. What a triumph it would be to my " heart, could I venture to suppose that my incul- " cations had any share in exciting this generous " tone!" Willingly do I allow that the incul- cations,

cations, and let me add the example, of the eminent person who uttered these enlightened sentiments, had their full share in exciting the excellent spirit which he so cordially celebrates. But, at the same time, I cannot forget that all those examples of early proficiency in public virtue which the eulogy comprises had their chief training in the College at Haileybury ; in that college where it is now said that no knowledge is to be acquired but that of vice, and no arts are to be gained but those of idleness, extravagance, and dissipation !

Do these testimonies, proceeding from such sources, and thus publicly recorded, prove nothing ? Are they to be contradicted by individual instances of folly or expense among a number of very young men, congregated in the heart of a great and luxurious capital, subjected to no control, and furnished with a ready access to the means of the most profuse expenditure ?

Perhaps it may be said that the evidence I have produced is confined to the state of the service in Bengal. With regard, then, to Madras, I might refer to the whole series of the official reports of the College Council at Fort St. George, beginning with the year 1814—documents far too voluminous for citation, but which, to any person even cursorily perusing them, will convey the strongest impressions in favour of the junior civilians at that

that Presidency. I may refer, also, to the authority of the gentleman beside me,* who was for many years a distinguished member of the Revenue Board at Madras, and of whose merit I would say more if I did not speak in his presence. Not having himself been educated at Hertford, his testimony cannot incur the charge of partiality; and he has kindly allowed me to refer to his authority for the fact, that a gradual improvement has of late years taken place in the civil service with which he was connected; that the debts of the young men are little or nothing, and their habits of order and regularity most praiseworthy. For another testimony to the same effect, I am authorized to refer to Mr. Edward Greenway, also a civilian on the Madras Establishment, and a witness well entitled to be heard, as he was long an active member of the Superintending Board of the College at Fort St. George. Similar praise may be given to the junior class of the service at Bombay. In the course of the debate, a letter has been quoted from a gentleman newly arrived at that settlement, who states that the young writers there are in debt. From the description given, I doubt not the author to be also the writer of a letter in my possession, descriptive of the state and habits of the junior servants

at

* Mr. Hodgson.

at Bombay. The letter I allude to certainly mentions that many of the commencing writers are in debt, but it represents the circumstance as unavoidable; and it proceeds to afford such a picture of the general character of the young writers in point of propriety and morality, as, if the letter were read in detail, no Proprietor, whatever may be his sentiments on the present question, could (I am persuaded) contemplate without the liveliest satisfaction. On the whole, then, the improvement among the junior writers in all the Presidencies appears to me conclusively established as a fact, to whatever agency the circumstance is to be imputed.

In the third place, I beg to observe that, having taken some pains to ascertain the situations filled in India by those who had received their education at Haileybury, I have been gratified by finding those situations to be remarkably elevated in reference to the standing of those by whom they are occupied. I do not state it as an universal, but it certainly is a general truth, that proficiency in the service has corresponded with proficiency in the college at home. To prove this proposition in the fullest and most regular manner, would be a task of great length; and, indeed, it is one requiring a far more intimate knowledge of the relative importance of the stations in the Indian

Indian service than I can pretend to possess. But mathematicians frequently follow up the detailed demonstration of a theorem with a mere concise proof, under the title of an *idem ait* ; and fortunately the assertion I have ventured may, by two or three short steps, be established to the satisfaction of any reasonable mind. For it is a fact, which the slightest comparison of the records of the College at Haileybury with those of the College at Calcutta will make plain, that the most distinguished students at the one are, generally speaking, also the most distinguished students at the other ; and then, it is a fact which stands on the clear authority of Lord Hastings, that the most distinguished students at the Calcutta College usually rise to the most distinguished posts in the civil service.—“ Look” (he observes in his discourse of August 1818), “ at the distinguished (individuals) of the civil service in the present day : is there one of them, I mean where the career commenced after the institution of the College (Fort William), whose character was not, in the first instance, brought to light by distinction acquired here ?” The glory thus claimed by Lord Hastings for the College of Fort William, must surely be participated with the College in England. Nor let me appear unjust to the ex-

cellent establishment at Fort William, if I say that the sister institution must participate that glory more than equally ; for the studies at Fort William are confined to the oriental languages, and the residence of students of industry and ability there seldom reaches the period of a twelve-month.

I would not be understood to affirm, that the proposition I have just laid down holds universally, for undoubtedly there are striking exceptions. Some attain eminence in India, who have not been eminent at the College in England. In the same manner, if any curious reader will examine the catalogues of the honours conferred at Cambridge for a long series of years, and will then trace into after-life the names which grace those columns, he will, on the one hand, be interested with observing how frequently the promise afforded by juvenile proficiency has been fulfilled in maturer years ; but, on the other, he may perhaps be surprised at finding, that not a few persons who stand comparatively low on the list of honours have, notwithstanding, been subsequently eminent. In such cases as these, however, is it to be inferred that the individuals in question derived *no benefit* from their academic education ? Not so ; I entirely concur in the opinion of Lord Grenville, that it is salutary

tary even to breathe the atmosphere of a well constituted seminary. Accordingly, I know instances of those who, with great advantage to themselves, have resuscitated (if I may so speak) in India the instruction which they had received at Haileybury, and by which, at the time, they had appeared to profit but little. It has seemed as if lessons had been written on their minds invisibly, which the heat of active life afterwards brought out and made conspicuous.

It is, however, very worthy of observation that, in general, conspicuous merit at the College has been the forerunner of eminence in the Indian service. I have been surprised to hear it urged, in disparagement of the system at Haileybury, that in the course of the fifteen or sixteen years which have elapsed since the first students landed in India, the College has not yet furnished a governor to any of the presidencies. Can there be a stronger proof of the success of the Institution than that this is the utmost that can be urged in proof of its failure? The charge, however, suggests it to me to mention, that the College has already furnished secretaries to government, a department of the service well known to be of the very highest importance and responsibility. Of five or six civil secretaries at Calcutta, *three* (Messrs. Mackenzie, Prinsep, and Stirling) were distinguished

guished prize-men and proficients at Haileybury ; of four secretaries at Madras, and four at Bombay, *two in each place* (Messrs. Clive and Macpherson Macleod at the former, and Messrs. Norris and Simson at the latter) were of the same class ; and a *third* (Mr. Farish) has just been promoted from the same situation at Bombay. . .

If then, on the whole, it appears that the average improvement of the junior portion of the civil service has corresponded with the average influx from the College at Haileybury, and if it also appears that the brightest ornaments of the junior part of the service have previously been the brightest ornaments of the College at Haileybury, surely it seems to be established, almost with mathematical precision, that the education at Haileybury has been productive of signal benefit to the civil service. To the considerations, however, that I have mentioned, I will now add a fourth, which I think important. I believe it, on the best evidence within my reach, to be an undeniable fact, that the persons who, having gone out from the College, have become eminent in India, very generally admit their deep obligations to the course of education at that establishment. Some may perhaps remember that, seven years ago, when the subject of the College was debated in this place, I read some letters from civilians in India who had passed through

through the College at Hertford with the highest credit, and who testified their grateful recollection of the instruction they had received. It was, I think, answered, that two or three eminent pupils did not prove the general merit of the seminary; but this was, in truth, to mistake my argument. The letters were produced, not to shew that persons of eminence had been sent forth from the College, but to shew that the most eminent persons whom the College had sent forth *owed* their eminence to the education there received. On this subject the evidence of the writers of those letters was not merely admissible, it was clearly the best evidence that could be adduced. Every man of common faculties knows whether he has benefited by his education at a particular seminary or not. It is common to hear it said, "at such a school " or college I gained great good; at such " another, I did nothing; at such a third, I im- " proved much, but it was by private study, " and not owing to the instructions of the place." I now hold in my hand many more letters of the same kind with those which I formerly produced, and it would highly gratify me to communicate to the Court the cordial and fervent language in which several of the writers express their obligations to the seminary in question, and their sense of its value. I will, however, spare the time

time of the Court ; but I must at the same time state distinctly the nature of the evidence to which I refer. Had it been possible for me to put the question as to the merits of the College universally to those who have left it with a high reputation and proceeded to India, I should not have feared to stake the whole fate of the institution on the general effect of the answers. What I could, however, I have done. Either by means of the letters I have just mentioned, or by direct references to such individuals of the Indian service as were in England, I have ascertained the opinions of *twenty-six* gentlemen who have gone out from the College to India. Their names I hold in my hand and am ready to shew to any person in this Court. One and all distinctly concur in avowing their great obligations to the Institution ; and when it is considered, that the individuals to whom I refer have not been selected, but are all to whom I had access, I must regard their testimony as of no small weight.

In place, however, of referring to private sources of information, I will content myself with a single quotation from a pamphlet published in 1823, and entitled " A letter to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the subject of their College at Haileybury ; by a Civilian." As the publication is

is anonymous, I will not name the author, though he has kindly disclosed his name to me; but I understand that ill health compelled him to quit India and the service, and that he has since taken his degree at one of the universities. Probably his name is well known to other gentlemen present; and the work contains internal evidence that the author is fully competent to do justice to the subject. He is not a prejudiced friend to the College; for where censure seemed to him necessary, he has spoken freely. This gentleman, however, writes as follows:—

“ As far as regards the progress of the students, “ and their habits of application, it appears, as “ well by comparison with other collegiate bodies “ as by the reports of the examinations, that there “ has been generally great reason to be satisfied. “ We must follow these youths to India, however, “ if we would learn the full benefit of this val- “ able institution. It is there a subject of univer- “ sal remark, how much the writers of the present “ day have the advantage of their seniors in point “ of general education, and how much better “ qualified they are to enter upon the offices to “ which they are destined. In religious feeling “ and morality there is a decided amelioration; “ and gambling, a vice for which the service in “ India was formerly noted, is now very little “ practised

" practised—I might almost say entirely aban-
 " doned. The Oriental languages are now so
 " universally known, that not a single civilian
 " enters upon his duties as a public servant, who
 " is not able to conduct business in one or two of
 " the vernacular dialects. In this respect there is
 " a striking contrast between the elder branches
 " of the service and their juniors ; and the nu-
 " merous evils which formerly arose from an imper-
 " fect intercourse (through the medium of corrupt
 " interpreters) between the officers of govern-
 " ment and the people, are now entirely removed.
 " It is true that these languages are studied in
 " India as well as in England ; but it is here that
 " the chief difficulties are overcome—more espe-
 " cially if the Sanscrit language be made the object
 " of study ; and the student has in India little
 " else to perform than the easy task of adding to
 " his stock of words, and improving his pronun-
 " ciation. On what account, then, has the East-
 " India College disappointed public expectation ?
 " and how happens it that an opinion is enter-
 " tained by many, that it would be a beneficial
 " measure to abolish it altogether ? The reason
 " appears to be, that the evils, which have been
 " felt only at home, have been proclaimed, per-
 " haps exaggerated, by interested individuals, till
 " they have become the subject of general ani-
 " madversion,

“ madversion, although, in point of fact, they
 “ have borne no proportion to the existing be-
 “ nefits.”

This excellent passage will close what I have to offer on the more general grounds I have hitherto taken, and will serve as an introduction to the more direct and particular testimonies from India, to which I am about to refer in proof of the beneficial effects of the system at Hertford. They have, on former occasions, been produced, and will mostly be found in the well-known statements of Mr. Malthus. For this reason, I will omit the testimony of General Hewitt in August 1811, as relating merely to proficiency in the Oriental languages, and one or two others of the same kind; but there are some which I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of citing.

Lord Minto, in the discourse pronounced by him, as Visitor of the College of Fort William, on the 15th of September 1810, after noticing particularly eight students from Hertford, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the sister college, proceeds thus:—“ It is with peculiar plea-
 “ sure that I do a further justice to Hertford Col-
 “ lege, by remarking that the official reports and
 “ lectures of our College will shew the students
 “ who have been translated from Hertford to
 “ Fort William, to stand honourably distinguished

“ for regular attendance, for obedience to the
 “ statutes and discipline of the College, for or-
 “ derly and decorous demeanour, for moderation
 “ in expense, and consequently in the amount of
 “ their debt; and, in a word, ‘for those decencies
 “ of conduct which denote men well born, and
 “ characters well trained.’” Then, after quoting
 the favourable attestation of two of the Professors
 at Fort William to the progress made at Hertford
 in the study of Persian, he adds, “ It will appear,
 “ from these short remarks, that several important
 “ benefits have already been derived from the
 “ institution at Hertford. The utility of that
 “ establishment has even thus early been made
 “ sensible;—first, by the positive acquirements of
 “ its pupils, which, although inconsiderable, and
 “ merely elementary in Oriental study, have been
 “ felt to contribute materially to the advance-
 “ ment of the same pursuits at Fort William;—
 “ but next, and principally, by a salutary influ-
 “ ence on conduct and character, both moral and
 “ academical.”

In order to impair the value of this eulogium, it has been observed, in the course of the present debate, that when Lord Minto thus spoke, very few young men had arrived in India who had been educated at Hertford. The precise force of this remark I am not able to perceive; since the students

dents from Hertford, whether they were few or many, were not only in terms the subjects of the panegyric, but were specifically declared by it to be pre-eminent above the rest of the students. The truth however is, as I believe, that the first division of students left Hertford about December 1807, and, consequently, when Lord Minto so favourably characterized them, the students of the first two, if not of the first three years at Hertford College, must already have entered the College of Fort William.

Two years afterwards—that is, on the 16th of November 1812—Captain Roebuck, then the Examiner of the College at Fort William, addressed the College Council in a letter, in which he speaks of it as “ an admitted fact, that the students then “ in College, compared with former years, were “ much steadier in every respect ;”—and remarks, that “ this was, perhaps, owing to their previous “ education at Hertford College.”

On the 29th of December 1812, the College Council at Fort William themselves addressed the Governor General in Council in a letter, which is recorded in the “ Bengal Consultations ” of the 1st of April 1814, and which contains the following passage :—

“ We take the liberty of repeating in this place
“ the observations made by the Right Honourable
“ the

“ the Visitor, in his speech pronounced at the
“ Disputation holden 22d September 1810, that
“ the improvement (a very great and general one)
“ which we have thought ourselves warranted in
“ asserting, has been very conspicuous in the con-
“ duct of the students who have passed through
“ the College at Hertford. We trust and believe
“ that this is no accidental circumstance; but, at
“ all events, the fact is in our opinion certain,
“ that, due regard being paid to numbers, no simi-
“ lar institution can afford a greater proportion of
“ young men more distinguished by the manners
“ of gentlemen, and general correctness and pro-
“ priety of deportment, than the present students
“ of the College at Fort William.” .

At the public disputation in 1815, Mr. Edmon-
stone, who acted as Visitor in the absence of the
Governor-General (Lord Moira), and who, having
since returned to Europe, has, with the very gene-
ral approbation of the members of this Court, been
promoted to a place in our governing body, ob-
served,—“ I have the satisfaction to know that,
“ at the present time, instances of deviation from
“ the maxims and rules of prudence and propriety
“ (for such must always exist in every large asso-
“ ciation) are exceptions to the general system
“ of conduct observable among the students of
“ the College.” He then, with an obvious allu-
sion

sion to the sister seminary in England, proceeds thus :—“ This gratifying improvement may, perhaps, be traced to sources beyond this establishment.”

Having hitherto reiterated testimonies which have before been cited, I now beg leave to adduce some which had no existence at the period of our former discussions on the subject of the College ; —and here let Lord Hastings be referred to.

In his public discourse to the College of Fort William, on the 30th June 1817, the noble Visitor expresses himself as follows :—

“ The interest felt in the concerns of your institution is not confined to the public of this country ; it is an object of attention to a large portion of the public of England and of Europe. “ In tracing the causes of the singular success with which this great and distant empire is governed with so much apparent ease, and preserved in such tranquillity, the attention of every observer must be arrested by those institutions which are destined to form the future legislators and statesmen of India, and which have already contributed so largely to the general improvement in the administration of affairs. “ The institutions of Hertford and of Fort William will necessarily become objects of the deepest interest. The institution at Hertford has but

“ but very lately been subjected to the minutest
 “ scrutiny of the public at home ; and it has
 “ passed the ordeal with an increase of honour
 “ and reputation, which, to those who, from its
 “ effects in this country, see its value, cannot but
 “ be a source of high gratification.”

Is this, however, the single testimony from Lord Hastings ? In a subsequent discourse, delivered on the 15th of August 1818, he thus speaks :—

“ It probably has never happened to any other
 “ nation, that individuals belonging to it should
 “ be placed in situations of active pre-eminence,
 “ and extensive superintendence, at so early an
 “ age as is the case with the British gentlemen
 “ sent out for the Honourable Company’s service.
 “ From my own personal opportunities of observa-
 “ tion, I can say that, almost without an excep-
 “ tion, the persons invested with those high trusts,
 “ at what appears so premature a period of life,
 “ prove that ‘ wisdom standeth not in the length
 “ of years.’ Their probity and mildness in the
 “ administration of justice, their patient and im-
 “ partial investigation of complicated disputes,
 “ and their kindly honourable feelings towards
 “ the natives, reflect the greatest credit on that
 “ general system of education at home, which
 “ prepares youth to discharge such important func-
 “ tions

“ tions so competently. This ground-work is, “ without doubt, possessed by the students whom “ the present examination pronounces unqualified “ for the service.”

With regard to Bengal, these citations will surely be held conclusive. But, in order to appreciate the weight and force of these testimonies, it is necessary to observe two things. First, the state of the service, subsequent to the establishment of Haileybury College, must be compared with its state previously to that period. Now, read only the striking picture given in Lord Wellesley's *Minute of the position of the young civilians*,— “ abandoned (as he says) at the age of sixteen or “ eighteen, with affluent incomes, to pursue their “ own inclinations, without the superintendance “ or control of parent, guardian, or master.” Or read the forcible statements of Mr. Tytler, himself a civilian, in his “ *Considerations on the present Political State of India*;” remembering that the descriptions given by Mr. Tytler, though penned about 1812, apply to his own experience of a residence in the College of Fort William, which terminated in or before 1808. Independently of individual cases of young writers incurring expences to a degree absolutely enormous, Mr. Tytler states, “ that he is certain he confines himself within bounds,

“ when he gives the *average sum* of 10,000 rupees “ to clear off the tradesmen’s bills contracted “ during a residence in College.” And the rest of his delineation is in exact keeping with this single feature. Contrasted with such descriptions, the admitted improvement among the junior servants will appear in its proper light. But, secondly, it is particularly important to remember, that all the testimonies I have produced were *casual* and *spontaneous* testimonies ; they were not applied for, or in any manner elicited ; they were not answers to inquiries from this country. The eminent persons from whom they proceeded were not called on to say any thing respecting the College in England, either favourable or unfavourable. They were led to *volunteer* their praise, merely from the strong impressions produced by what they saw and heard. It is this circumstance that stamps on their statements so peculiar a value.

With respect to the other presidencies, if direct written testimonies are not produced, yet the most satisfactory evidence will be furnished, on referring to competent and unprejudiced civilians recently returned from those presidencies ; and opportunities of such reference must be within the reach of every member of the Court. In relation to Madras, in particular, I again refer to the very valuable authority of my honourable friend be-
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side me* who allows me to say, that having originally felt great doubts as to the probable utility of the College at Haileybury, he became a warm advocate for it from having witnessed its beneficial effects in India. The same gentleman has informed me, that, in consequence of the modifications introduced into the system of Indian administration by Sir Thomas Munro, modifications tending to an union of the judicial and financial departments, important judicial duties have, in many instances, been thrown on the junior civilians employed as sub-collectors of revenue ; and that, for the discharge of these duties, they have, in a surprising degree, been found prepared by the excellent general education which they had received at home. In corroboration of these statements, I must again quote Mr. Greenway, who has kindly allowed me to use his name, not merely for the fact of a general improvement in the junior division of the civil service at Madras, but also for the opinion, that the system of education at Haileybury has constituted one very efficient cause of that improvement.

With regard to the good effects of the Haileybury system in grounding the students in the Oriental languages, I am, as I intimated, very unwilling to occupy the time of the Court. Mr.

Malthus, in his admirable work, states some very striking facts on this topic. One of his authorities (Lord Minto) distinctly asserts the proved utility of the elementary instruction in the Oriental languages at Haileybury, as tending to abridge the time allotted to the study of those languages in India; and the reports and other public documents of the Colleges of Fort William and Fort St. George, during a series of past years—documents accessible to all—present a mass of evidence decisively establishing the same fact; evidence which it is impossible to exhibit to the Court in all its fulness, and equally impossible to abstract or condense without injustice: I shall be satisfied, therefore, with a general reference to these authorities, except as to one point. I understand that a story has appeared in one of the public papers, stating that a young man, instructed in all the Oriental learning which Haileybury could furnish, found his acquisitions utterly useless on his arrival at Madras;—and this, it seems, is urged as a conclusive argument against all the Oriental instruction of Haileybury. Observe, that this statement is made in February 1824. Now how stand facts? During the few first years of the College, no systematic instruction was afforded in the Sanscrit tongue. That language, however, if not the parent of the three languages vernacular within

the range of the Madras presidency, is at least so intimately connected with those languages, as to afford the best preparative for an acquisition of them. Prizes, indeed, were long since given for proficiency in Sanscrit; but the adoption of this as a part of the system of the College, did not, as I believe, take place till 1814; when, on the recommendation of the examining Board of the College of Fort St. George, the study of Sanscrit was established at Haileybury, and though not made actually obligatory, was enforced on all the Madras students as a matter of trial, and was also encouraged generally. The effect cannot be better stated than in the words of the Examiners of Madras, writing officially, of date the 20th December 1817, that is, more than six years ago; and their testimony I will cheerfully confront with the anonymous accusation to which I have referred.

“ In consequence of our recommendation, the
 “ study of the Sanscrit is pursued at Haileybury
 “ by those intended for the civil service of this
 “ Presidency; and we cannot conclude this re-
 “ port without noticing particularly the great ad-
 “ vantage which it has afforded to many of the
 “ junior civil servants who have latterly joined
 “ the institution, in the acquirement of the
 “ colloquial languages of the coast.

“ This

“ This language, which influences every tongue from the confines of China to the western limits of Persia, and is radically connected with many of the dialects spoken in Europe, may be considered as the principal key to those of India ; for though the dialects of the south are not radically connected with it, its terms are liberally intermixed with the vernacular speech of the Tamil,* Teloogoo, and Canarese nations. The acquisition of the latter, therefore, it is evident, must be greatly facilitated by a knowledge of the former, and it has accordingly been found, that the progress made by the students at the College of Fort St. George in the attainment of them, has been incomparably more rapid and satisfactory since they have studied the Sanscrit in England.”

The report proceeds to name five students, Messrs Thomas Munro, Wheatly, Robertson, Hooper, and Elliot, as distinguished for the rapidity with which they had gone through the course of instruction at the Madras College ; in one and all of whom I was gratified to find students of high eminence for proficiency at Haileybury.

Were I now to enter into a narrative of particular facts, illustrative of the advantages which

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* “ Including the Malayalam.”

the young civilians in India have reaped from the lessons inculcated at Haileybury, my address would never end: a single specimen or two must suffice. Mr. Stokes, most honourably distinguished at Hertford, was employed as an assistant collector under the Madras Government, and, in the absence of his superior, was unexpectedly called on to make a report to the Government on a highly interesting subject of administrative economy—I believe on the regulations proper to be adopted in expectation of a famine; and this gentleman, then at a very early period of life, acquitted himself on the subject so ably, that he was immediately summoned to Madras and promoted. Mr. Stephen Babington, one of the early ornaments of the College, and the very first student from that Institution who ever set foot in Bombay, owed his rise, in like manner, to a masterly report made on some topic of general polity; but I have selected this instance from many others, in order to mention the sequel of this gentleman's brief but honourable career. In a humane attempt to extinguish a fire, the fall of a beam cost him his life: such, however, was the impression which his merits had made on the minds of the settlement in general, that a large subscription has been entered into, for the erection of a statue in commemoration of his talents and virtues.

Here,

Here, then, I terminate my view of the benefits of this institution in India ; merely pressing it on the reason and justice of the Court to say, whether all these good effects, which have taken place since the establishment of the College, have been produced, not by *means* of this institution, but in *spite* of it ? If so, I can only wish that the same anomaly may continue ; that the College may still go on, doing good by the rule of contraries ; that it may still and long exhibit the phenomenon of a system, demonstrably pernicious in all its presumable tendencies, and unspeakably beneficial in all its actual results.

Having now taken a survey of the effects of this Institution abroad, I will turn my attention to its operations at home ; still looking at the system rather in a practical than a theoretical point of view. I will not enter into details, but confine myself to this general proposition—that every person who sends his child to a seminary, intends him to derive from it one or more of these three advantages : the communication of instruction, the acquisition of friendships, and the formation of habits. Let the system of education pursued at Hertford College be briefly viewed in reference to these points ; and especially let it be considered in contrast with the proposed plan of a public examination,

mination, and the establishment of a test of qualification.

With regard to the first point, I will not contend that a perfect system of literary instruction is to be found at the College: but, as far as my information tends, I am not acquainted with any establishment in which so much is effected in proportion to the means adopted, the number of students, and the length of stay allowed to each. The course of education is indeed appropriate; and here I cannot help noticing the question of an Honourable Proprietor, who asked whether more learning and preparation are required in statesmen and diplomatists in India, than are necessary to public functionaries holding parallel situations in this country? I cannot answer the question better than in the words of the Marquess Wellesley. That eminent person has observed, respecting the civil servants of the Company, " they are required to discharge the functions of " magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors " of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive " relations of those sacred trusts and exalted sta- " tions; and under peculiar circumstances, which " greatly enhance the solemnity of every public " obligation, and the difficulty of every public " charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in " every other part of the world; with no other

" characteristic differences, than the obstacles offered by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, " the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the " manners of its inhabitants." Therefore I have the authority of Lord Wellesley for asserting, that it is a still more arduous work to qualify a statesman or diplomatist for India, than, other things being equal, for the worthy discharge of those duties, on ordinary occasions, in this country. Now add to this the important fact, that the young aspirant to civil offices in India must earlier complete his education than if he were destined to the same vocation in Europe,—that he has both more to learn, and less time to learn it in,—and you have at once a measure by which you may try the fitness of the system at Hertford. It is plain that a seminary destined to educate the Indian statesman, ought to give him that which he might elsewhere acquire for the peculiar duties of his station, and to superadd whatever is peculiar to the qualifications requisite for the public service in India. I do not know of the existence of any seminary which concentrates, in any measure equal to Hertford College, the advantages requisite for the purposes stated. Law, history, political economy, are not taught systematically any where but here. The oriental languages are not elsewhere to be had with any certainty. In short, both

both my own observation, and the testimony of persons by no means interested in giving false representations, have satisfied me that the system is superior to all others for its purposes. As one example, I will refer to the contents of a letter which, on a former occasion, was, with a laudable candour, produced by the Honourable Member for Aberdeen, and which is to be found in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Journal*, page 72. It was written by a gentleman who had a son educated at Haileybury, and who thus expresses himself:

“ The young man went to Hertford, he studied
 “ his four terms, and I have not any reason to
 “ regret the advice which I received. On the
 “ contrary, I am perfectly satisfied, that not only
 “ in political economy and oriental science, but
 “ in Greek and Latin, in polite literature of all
 “ kinds, in general taste, in the use of the English
 “ language, and I may add in manners, he re-
 “ ceived a higher measure of cultivation than he
 “ could have received under any other institution
 “ that I ever heard of.”

“ As to his morals, I got him back just as I
 “ parted with him, honest and modest, strong in
 “ sound feeling and self-command; and I know
 “ that mine is not a singular case. Another
 “ young man from this place ran the same course,
 “ and with at least equal success—I believe much

" greater. I heard of many names more distinguished than either, and I have no doubt their conduct was still more creditable."

Now I refer to this testimony, not only because it is in every view unexceptionable, but because the commendation which it gives of the education at Haileybury accurately corresponds with that which I have heard from numerous individuals fully competent to speak on the subject. In fact, I do not rely on any *single opinion*: I have taken means to collect information from a variety of independent and trustworthy sources. In particular, I have consulted two gentlemen, one of Cambridge, the other of Oxford, who, themselves unconnected with the India College, have had the opportunity of accurately observing and becoming acquainted with its system. One of these for several months watched the progress, through the college of Haileybury, of a very near and dear relation, who had previously distinguished himself at the public schools in a very remarkable manner; yet it was the surprise and admiration of the friend to whom I have just referred, to witness the extraordinay improvement of his young relation under the course of education at Haileybury. As I have no written opinion to produce from this gentleman, I will take the liberty of naming him: it is the Rev. Mr. Venn.

Indeed

Indeed I am bound to declare my impression to be, that so far from being inadequate to the communication of necessary instruction, the system, if open to any doubt at all, may perhaps be questioned as straining to too great a pitch the faculties of the student,—as applying too potent a stimulus to the juvenile mind. The other gentleman to whom I referred resided at the College six months, and afterwards went to Oxford, where he also became distinguished at a very distinguished college. I hold in my hand a letter from this gentleman, fully and ably entering into the whole of the present subject ; and to any inquirer, I will willingly both communicate the whole letter, and reveal the name of the writer. At present I will read only that part which concerns the system of instruction at Haileybury :

“ The system of education there pursued, is an
 “ instance of the practice of the most difficult
 “ theory ever proposed to learned men—a general
 “ education. The college is literally an univer-
 “ sity ; and not one where the students may choose
 “ their branch of learning, one man studying
 “ mathematics, another classics, another oriental
 “ literature, another law, and another history—but
 “ where any student that distinguishes himself cre-
 “ ditably is bound to attend to each distinct branch.
 “ In all my stay at Oxford, I never saw more in-
 “ tense

“ tense competition for honours than I witnessed
 “ at the East-India College. Whether I consider
 “ the number of hours required for preparing to
 “ attend the various lectures, or the great variety
 “ of subjects to which the attention is directed,
 “ without intermission, without a single day of re-
 “ laxation, for more than four months together in
 “ each term, I must confess, I am not so much
 “ astonished at the great proficiency which the
 “ studious attain in every department, as at the
 “ circumstance of so few turning restive, and re-
 “ fusing to be driven at a rate, to which one should
 “ judge the minds of such young men to be un-
 “ equal.”

Let me next advert to the objections urged against the system of examination pursued at Haileybury, and the proposed substitution of a public examination. These objections are, I think, two-fold; first, it is complained that the examination is not a public one; and secondly, that it is conducted exclusively by the professors of the college.

As to the first objection, I have always entertained, and have long since taken opportunities of expressing, a sufficiently strong opinion on the inexpediency of *vivā voce* examinations, properly so called. In the Senate-House of Cambridge (where, perhaps, is exemplified the *best* actual system of examination in existence), there prevails a mixed-

process,

process, the trial being partly in writing and partly by *vivā voce*. But any one would have an improper idea of the latter mode, who supposed that it was conducted in the usual manner of *vivā voce* examinations. On the contrary, though the examiner propounds his questions *vivā voce*, they are put to the whole of a class at once, and the answers are all given in writing, and read by the examiners afterwards. In my opinion, an examination conducted in writing is unquestionably the best; it is the only method by which you can fairly bring to one common measure, the talents and acquirements of a variety of young men. Suppose, for instance, that a classical examiner presents a book to be construed by a number of young men, in order to determine their relative merits; how is it possible for him to select passages for each student which shall possess an exact equality of difficulty, and therefore furnish an accurate test of comparison amongst the several members of the body? It would be as wise to use a measure of length composed of some highly elastic substance, as to proceed on such a principle. The method of Porson, in some of the classical examinations in which he was employed at Cambridge, was not this, but to set each candidate, separately, to translate the same passage in writing; and no other method will satisfactorily answer the purpose.

This,

This, then, is my first reason for preferring such a mode of examination. My second is, that it is impossible for any examiner, whatever may be his faculties, to carry in his mind the merits of each student out of a long line of persons, so as accurately to classify them by the force of his memory alone. Nor can any use of notes hastily made, as he listens to each probationer, enable him to measure together the relative proficiencies of all. The only satisfactory mode is to have the answers in writing : for then he is possessed of preservable documents, which he may mutually compare at leisure, and with deliberation.

My third reason is, that in many subjects of examination, not only is writing expedient, but nothing can be done without it. In construing a book in a foreign language which presents easy passages, or in the elementary parts of mathematics, or geometry, it will mostly be in the power of the student to give his answers *vivâ voce* with facility : but in departments of a more difficult nature, it is often literally impossible for a youth, however highly gifted, to answer with effect except by writing. Nor am I now speaking of the abstruser parts of science. Take the case of a complex problem in quadratic equations ; and would it be fair to insist on a *vivâ voce* solution ? But it is not only in science that this method of exami-

examination is inapplicable; the same remark holds in the literary department of education. The student cannot possibly, by that rough translation which necessarily characterizes an extempore effort, place it in the power of the examiner to ascertain a most valuable part of his proficiency (and which, by the way, is very material in the education of the civil servants of the Company), namely, the talent of composition in his own language. Still less can he shew that talent in a foreign language, living or dead.

But I beg to state a fourth reason, and one still stronger than any of those already mentioned. I presume to say, that I have myself undergone as many academical examinations as most gentlemen present; and I cannot help thinking that it is most unfair to place a dissident young man, in a situation where he may have to contend with a rival of his own standing, and not, perhaps, superior powers, but who is blest, either naturally or in consequence of having been trained to the task, with a readiness to answer, and an indifference to the terrors of exhibition. A public examination, I feel persuaded (and far better judges have held the same opinion), adds a most unjust impediment to the difficulties which the student, whose education has been obtained at a private school, must, at all events, encounter on such occasions.

I do not mean to dissent from the eulogium that has been pronounced by an Hon. Proprietor,* on the public examinations at the celebrated establishment to which he alluded (the Charter-House school), where the whole public are suffered to be present, and any person is at liberty to puzzle the student as he pleases ; on the contrary, I doubt not its justice. It is possible that other examples of a like kind might be quoted ; but surely such examples are not conclusive. For let it be recollected, that the students in those cases are upon a level with each other, as to the advantage with which they face the exhibition : they are regularly disciplined to it, and there is nothing unfair in instituting a contest between two gladiators of the same school. It would be quite otherwise to match one of those intellectual prize-fighters with a timid youth, educated perhaps under the wing of his father, and wholly strange to such combats. I am indeed, in fairness, obliged to confess that the Cambridge examinations for the classical medal are, or were, partly conducted in the properly *viva voce* method : but then, to obviate the inconvenience of presenting different passages to the different students (and which, as I have shown, would afford a fallible criterion at the best), the plan was adopted of calling them

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* Mr. Kinnaird.

successively into a room, in the presence of the examiners, and setting them separately to construe the same passage. Now I would ask, is such a plan capable of being applied to examinations comprising fifty or a hundred candidates at a time? I may perhaps be allowed to mention an instance of pains being taken at Cambridge to avoid a *vivā voce* examination, even where in a degree it was obligatory. In a contest for an University scholarship on a foundation, where it had been expressly enjoined by the founder (Dr. Bättye), that the trial should take place *vivā voce*, and in the presence of all the candidates, the examiners (as one of them, the Regius Professor of Civil Law, Dr. Jowett, afterwards mentioned to some of the candidates) deliberately resolved not to evade the rule, but to escape its letter, while they obeyed its spirit and intention. In the examination which preceded that one, it had happened that the course of proceeding brought to one student (a gentleman since eminent at the bar) a Greek passage in Thucydides of proverbial difficulty, to be construed, and to his successor one of a very opposite description. The examiners were struck with the injustice of such a trial, and on the next vacancy determined to alter the plan; they accordingly required that the answers should be given in writing, but that

each student should afterwards read his own answer in the presence of the rest; by which means they obviated the inconvenience without violating the directions of the founder. These are actual precedents which appear not unimportant; and, though I know that *viva voce* examinations, properly so called, are admitted at Oxford (to which, however, Oxonians of eminence entertain decided objections), and though, in a degree, they are also known at Cambridge, especially in the interior examinations of individual colleges, I must retain the opinion of them which I have expressed. What process of examination is to be adopted in the new classical examinations which the University of Cambridge is just about to institute I have inquired, but have not been able to learn.

I now come to the second objection urged against the examinations of Haileybury College; namely, that they are conducted by the professors. The objection here might have some weight, if the professor had to decide between a body of his own pupils (in whose favour he might naturally be supposed to feel some bias), and the pupils formed in some other school. But this is not the case. The students who undergo the examination are all the pupils of the person who examines them, and there is no reason to apprehend, therefore, that

that he will be drawn aside from his duty by selfish partialities. He must entertain the same feeling towards all, and experience the same pleasure at the success of any. In fact, the circumstance of the trial not being conducted in the way of public exhibition, precludes the only chance of abuse to which an examination by the instructor himself is exposed. There is no inducement to convert the scene into one of theatrical, and possibly of *prepared* display. The examinations cannot be *acted*—cannot be got up by regular rehearsals—a perversion to which the exhibitionary mode of examination is clearly liable, and of which instances are known to have occurred. In saying this, I do not mean the remotest allusion to the distinguished public school which I have recently named.

I will now mention what appear to me the advantages of having the examinations held by the professors themselves. Not satisfied with trusting to my own observation, I have taken occasion to consult experienced persons belonging to the Universities; and have derived from my inquiries the clear opinion, that, when the proficiency of a number of students educated under the same tuition is to be ascertained, the fairest mode of doing this will be, by employing a judge who is acquainted with their reading. If, indeed, the students were perfect,

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or supposed to have finished their course in the branch in which they were tried, there might be no injustice in consigning them to a stranger for examination. It might then be fair (speaking familiarly) to *dodge* them, to catch them out, to examine them at a venture. But when the subject of trial is a proficiency confessedly imperfect, it is very advantageous that the examiner should accurately know the specific ground to which the studies of the pupils have generally been confined; and this is a just advantage, for it is evidently one to which the combatant is entitled.

A *second* reason is, that one object of an examination being to ascertain chiefly how far the student has exercised his *industry* (and in no examination can that inquiry be more necessary, than in those which have reference to the Indian civil service), it is doubly important that the trial should be conducted by those who are acquainted with his previous studies: for the question is, how far he retains and has digested what he has read. In this view, every lecture is partly an examination as to the student's improvement of previous lectures; and what is called the examination is only the completion of the process.

Thirdly, there is a *just* partiality (I will venture to call it so), which ought to be shewn by an examiner towards a certain class of students, and which

which cannot possibly enter into the process if conducted by a stranger. It is the great vice of all examinations, that they afford a bounty to talents, and do not hold out a sufficient encouragement to patient and meritorious industry. Promptitude and brilliancy are the ruling virtues of an examination, though not of actual life. Such must of course be the case wherever the examiner is a stranger. An examiner, on the contrary, who well knows the comparative merits of his candidates, though bound to class them only according to what they actually *produce* (if he does not this, he must be pronounced unworthy of his trust), yet *may*, and *ought* so to shape the exercises he proposes, as fairly to do justice to all. He may, and ought so to preside, that talent may not gain an undue predominance over acquirement; that dormant knowledge may be elicited, as well as quick and showy parts displayed; and in many cases, this cannot possibly be done without a previous intimacy with the reading of the students.

If I am asked, whether it is the habit in other seminaries, that examinations of importance should be conducted by the masters or other teachers themselves, I answer that the habit is at least frequent, though undoubtedly many instances of a contrary practice may be cited. Of the latter class

class are, undoubtedly, the examinations at Eton, quoted by the Hon. Mover, previous to the annual removals to King's College; for in these, the order in which the pupils should be placed is decided by the provost of King's, and two fellows of the same college, acting specially as examiners. But it must be observed, that the same distinguished seminary furnishes examples of the other mode of examination: for the relative places of the students, in promoting them from a lower to an upper form, are ascertained by an examination, in which the master is the examiner and sole arbiter. This examination is the only one to which the Oppidans are subject after admission, and it is always conducted in the same manner up to the fifth form; after which there is no farther examination. In like manner the well-known and severe examinations at Westminster School, by which the relative places of the commoners elected to be King's scholars are determined, is an examination purely by the master. Many other instances of the same kind might be referred to; but I will be content with the precedents supplied by my own university. At Cambridge, the distinction to which I have adverted, between a teacher examining young men, all of whom are his own pupils, and one examining his own pupils against others, is practically a good deal observed. In the large colleges,

leges, there are more than one tutor in each department ; and the different tutors are naturally, in some degree, though in a fair and honourable manner, rivals. Hence, in order to prevent all possibility of cavil, it is not advisable, and in fact is not the practice, that the tutors should be the conductors of the college examinations, inasmuch as, in these, the young men instructed by different tutors come into mutual competition. But in the small colleges, where there is but one tutor in any one department, the difficulty does not exist, and there the practice is different. In my own college, the tutors were the only examiners, and by them the prizes were fixed, after examinations of no small severity.

In closing this subject, I will beg to observe, that no person who has had the opportunity of seeing what is done at the Haileybury examinations can doubt their efficacy, both as a stimulus and a criterion. I hold in my hand a pile, I might say a book, consisting of the printed questions put at one of the examinations. It was not selected, but taken casually ; any Proprietor is welcome to inspect it, and no man can inspect it without being satisfied that, if any number of the students can, with tolerable correctness, follow the examiners through an extent of learning, and knowledge so considerable (and I know that not only is this the

fact, but that it is not singular to see papers of extraordinary accuracy and copiousness produced on the most difficult subjects), both the species and the quantity of the college studies must be pronounced worthy of high commendation. I will add another fact in favour of those examinations. They have now been going on for nearly twenty years ; they are severe ; the competition among the youthful candidates is most eager, and for some years past, even their relative places in the service, as compared with those of their contemporaries, have been fixed by the result of the contest ; and yet, while so much prejudice has existed against the college in some quarters—while so much has been said, and publicly and clamorously said, in disparagement of other parts of the system—it is a striking fact, that not a whisper, not an insinuation, has ever been breathed in impeachment of the rigorous fairness and impartiality of the examinations in question.

I will now proceed to the consideration of the second object sought to be attained by sending youths to a place of education—I mean the acquisition of friends and acquaintances. In entering on this topic, I find myself crossed by the objection which has often been urged against the college, on the ground of its prematurely contracting the student's education and society into a particular channel.

nel. It is said that the college tends to form, a *caste* of writers. It seems to be supposed that these writers are all of the same profession, and that the instruction they receive, being adapted to form them for their particular calling, is therefore, in its nature, professional and illiberal. Surely this opinion is founded on a very mistaken view of the subject. Whatever, indeed, the system may be, when it is considered that the students ordinarily reside but two years, and that they are collected from every part of the United Kingdom, and from seminaries of the most various descriptions, it can never be supposed that their residence will have the effect of narrowing, or improperly warping their minds or habits. At no other institution does the succession of inmates change so quickly ; it is therefore impossible that much of local prejudice should be formed ;—the current is too rapid to allow of those accretions which are apt to deform the stagnant marshes of learned establishments. An honourable Proprietor has indeed quoted, as conclusive against the system of the College, a writer in a periodical publication, who disapproves of the Oriental test established at the College, as tending improperly to encourage a particular branch of instruction at the expense of the rest. The censure, however, so cited by the honourable gentleman, is expressly directed, not against an

Oriental test *simply*, but against an *exclusive* Oriental test; and the fact is, that, since that opinion was expressed, the college system has been altered in substantial conformity with it. A regulation has been enacted, by which no student can obtain the certificate necessary to his appointment to the service, unless, besides passing the Oriental test, he obtains the testimony of good proficiency in one department of European literature, or of proficiency in two. Whether this regulation does enough is not the question; but it manifestly tends to place the European branches of study on a level with that institution in Eastern literature, which, though perhaps a necessary ingredient in the collegiate system, certainly cannot be esteemed a paramount part of it. I were idle to imagine that a very moderate infusion of Oriental learning—and moderate it must be at the best—should have the effect of contracting the characters or dwarfing the minds (if I may so speak) of the students—of double-dyeing them, as it were, in Indian ink. And, with respect to the other elements of the system, the fact is, that as the situations granted by the Company, under the name of writerships, embrace (Lord Wellesley being the witness), the utmost variety of professions, and some of these of the most arduous kind—so the course of instruction in use at Haileybury is more various

various and comprehensive than any other institution, be it school or college, exemplifies.

But then it is said, that the education of the Company's civil servants ought to be English. And what can be more characteristically English than the education actually received at the place in question? The young men are taught mathematics according to the methods adopted in the English universities; they are instructed in that classical literature, for the successful cultivation of which England is renowned above all other nations; they are initiated in those departments of science, relating to statistical and administrative economy, in which England has taken a conspicuous lead in modern times; lastly, they are introduced to an acquaintance with the study of our laws, our constitution, and our religion, the England (if I may so speak) of England, that specific part of England which makes her what she is, the glory of the West, and the empress of the East.

Having answered, as I presume to hope, the objection urged against the congregating of the young writers, previously to their actual appointment, at a particular seminary, I will now notice the benefits resulting from such a plan. I am not, indeed, aware that some slight adaptation of the views and thoughts of the students to the scene of their future life, as a preliminary to the

the commencement of their service, can in itself operate any disadvantage. I have heard good and liberal opinions to a contrary effect: and should not feel myself inconsistent in subscribing to those opinions. Occasional anticipations of the high functions they are to exercise in a quarter of the globe, the idea of which suggests so many interesting associations, may rather elevate and ennoble than debase their minds. But, whatever may be thought on this subject, there is a great and undeniable benefit closely connected with the system. In looking over a number of letters from young civilians in India, who had been educated at Haileybury, I have been greatly struck with observing the excellent effects produced by the acquaintances and intimacies which they had contracted at college, and which were cherished after their arrival in the East. Several gentlemen, also of that class, who happen to be in England, have remarked to me, in strong terms, on the benefits to which I allude. Instead of reading from private letters, however, I will refer the Court to some interesting observations on this very subject, contained in the publication of the civilian whom I have already had occasion to cite.

“ Previously to the institution of the East-India College, it must constantly have happened that a writer, on setting foot in India, knew not a single

“ single individual in that vast empire ; and a
 “ situation more desolate in itself, or more calcu-
 “ lated to excite the sympathetic condolence of
 “ those whom he had left, could not well be
 “ conceived. At the present day he becomes
 “ acquainted, in the course of his college educa-
 “ tion, not only with young men of his own
 “ standing, but with those, also, who are either his
 “ seniors or his juniors by a year and a half.
 “ With many who are destined to the same presi-
 “ dency as himself, he becomes intimate ; with the
 “ characters of all, at a period of life when character
 “ is best seen, he is made familiar. Thus India is
 “ to him no longer a land of strangers. He finds
 “ in it a second home ; he again meets the compa-
 “ nions of his youth. Whatever difficulties the
 “ novelty of his situation may at first create, they
 “ are removed by friends whom he finds already
 “ settled in the country ; and, in the course of
 “ his future career, he can visit no part of the
 “ Indian empire where he will not be received
 “ under the hospitable roof of a fellow-collegian.”

This is a picture drawn from the life : *Experito credite.* The writer describes his own feelings and experience. There is yet more, however, to be noticed on this point. The friendships formed at Haileybury do not merely give the young civilian society on his first arrival in India—they give him

him important knowledge among the members of the community to which he is introduced ; they afford him the means of selecting his associates ; they fortify him against that danger of forming improper or injurious connexions to which a very young man suddenly placed amidst strangers could not but be more or less exposed. I do not speak from imagination. Very judicious observers have testified to me the good effects which, in this respect, they have known to flow from the previous acquaintanceship of the writers sent from Haileybury. They have also pointed out another class of benefits arising from the same source. The young writers appointed to the different presidencies correspond with each other freely ; they mutually communicate their impressions and opinions on those public subjects, an attention to which is involved in their proper employments ; thus an interchange of mental light, and an intercommunion of good feeling, are established — one of the very advantages which (if I mistake not) were contemplated by Lord Wellesley, in his original idea of the college of Calcutta. Such, then, on the whole, is the result of the companionship that constitutes a part of the Hertford system. Here attachments grow up, which afterwards ripen into solid friendships ; attachments which may not, in a vulgar sense, conduce

conduce to the interest of the parties ; but which contribute to their comfort when separated from their immediate families—and not to their comfort merely, but to their moral well-being ; and which, while thus promoting private happiness and individual virtue, erect, at the same time, on these excellent foundations, an extensive and increasing superstructure of national and political improvement.

I will now draw the attention of the Court to the consideration of the third motive which guides parents in determining the place of education to which they will send their child, namely, the formation of moral habits—understanding that term in its most comprehensive sense. On this important point, I have made many inquiries, and with all the care and anxiety which belong to such a subject, and I will shortly state the result.

As compared with our great public schools, it appears that there is this distinction in the system of Haileybury—that whereas, in the former, the scholars mingle together indiscriminately, there is at Haileybury, as at the Universities, though not perhaps quite in the same degree (for Haileybury stands in some sense between the two), a power of selecting society. The students have separate rooms, and are not acquainted unless

introduced. Although, therefore, the restrictions on conduct are in some respects less rigid at Haileybury than at a public school, the student is exempt from that promiscuous companionship which is often objected to as one principal mischief attending those schools. At Haileybury, a youth well trained and well advised may select his associates from among the studious and the correct, and in a degree avoid even the acquaintance of the more idle or dissolute.

On the other hand, if compared with our Universities, there can be no doubt that at Haileybury a degree of discipline is enforced far beyond the standard of academic strictness. I could easily establish this proposition by a detailed comparison; but, unwilling to exhaust attention, I will be content with a quotation from the letter of my Oxonian friend, which I have already cited in part—a perfectly competent testimony on the subject :

“ As to the discipline pursued in the East-India College, it always appeared to me to stand mid-way between the discipline of our public schools and that of our colleges. Compared with that of our public schools, it seemed to give a little more freedom of action, because the students found themselves no longer compelled to study, as at school, for fear of the rod,

" rod, but invited to mental exertion by the
 " promise of encouragement and the hope of
 " reward. The restraints which affected the
 " spending of their time were, and still are, such
 " as are not only unknown to our colleges, but
 " would be considered intolerable if enforced
 " when the students were two or three years
 " more advanced in age than those at the East-
 " India College. What would an under-graduate
 " member of the strictest college in Oxford feel,
 " were he compelled, like the members of the
 " East-India College, to attend chapel every morn-
 " ing and evening, to dine in hall every day, and
 " to be within gates every evening soon after
 " dusk, and to be in his own room alone every
 " night at eleven o'clock ? At Hertford the use
 " of wine is forbidden: yet at our Universities
 " the use of it is freely indulged to young men
 " who come up to college, not two years later in
 " life than the students of the East India College.
 " Riding on horseback, or driving a gig, hunting
 " and shooting, are sports most rigorously for-
 " bidden at the East-India College; and if a
 " young man is unable to take long walks, or to
 " use athletic exercise, he has no source of recrea-
 " tion. How different is this from our Univer-
 " sities ! Those persons who call out to take away
 " the name of college, and call the East-India

“ College a school, would find, on examining the
 “ subject, that the college is already in reality
 “ that sort of school to which they would re-
 “ duce it, as the remedy for every defect. Let
 “ men who have passed through an English Uni-
 “ versity examine the discipline of the East-India
 “ College, and they will be found to confess, that
 “ the disturbances which arise there are such as
 “ might be expected from the enforcing a strict
 “ discipline upon young men, some of whom will
 “ not bear the restraint—whilst others, though
 “ apparently in the college with their consent,
 “ have both a dislike to appointments in a distant
 “ land, and an aversion to the severe studies of
 “ the place.”

But what, generally speaking, is the actual conduct, in point of correctness, of the students at this institution? I have taken all the means within my reach of obtaining an answer to this important question. An Hon. Proprietor said, that he had heard of gambling being practised there. Much as I have inquired into the state of the College, I am not, I cannot be, prepared to meet charges turning upon particular facts, or affecting the conduct of individuals. Unless, however, it is meant to be asserted that the vice in question (and the same rule applies to any other excess or irregularity) prevails, or is encouraged,

couraged, or connived at, or not checked at the College, the reference to it is manifestly inconclusive. Now, on that head, if the practice of gambling be prevalent in the College, how is it to be explained that, according to the respectable testimony of the civilian whom I have already quoted, since the institution of this seminary, gambling, which formerly infected the civil service in India to a considerable extent, has almost entirely disappeared? Particular instances of it may have existed at the College, as every body well knows such instances to have existed at other colleges; other vices and improprieties, in like manner, may exist—but lamentable and censurable as these undoubtedly are, do they necessarily furnish a ground of reproach against this seminary, as compared with other seminaries? Clearly not: unless they prevail in it to a greater extent, or in a more aggravated degree. I have conversed or corresponded with many persons competent to institute a comparison in this matter between the India College and other places of education. Seven or eight of those persons have been students at that college, and also students at the university; others of them have passed through some of the public schools. On the whole, I am satisfied that the India College need not fear a comparison even with most of the public schools, and

and especially with those situated in towns; although, from the difference of the average age of the inmates, such a comparison would be manifestly unjust. But still more securely may it challenge a comparison with the universities. At this institution, indeed, as at all institutions of the kind, differences may be observed in different years. Much depends on the accidental character of the students in any particular year, coming as they do from other seminaries, and at an age past childhood. Here, as at the university, there is sometimes a better, sometimes a worse set; and the testimonies of persons comparing the two, will necessarily vary according to the sets into which they have happened to fall at each place respectively. Making this allowance, however, I have been struck with the remarkable concurrence of the opinions which I have received. Of those whom I have consulted, all, with a single exception, and even that gentleman (whom I know to have fallen in with an indifferent set at Hertford, and with an excellent one in a particular college at Cambridge, gave a mixed opinion), awarded the palm of equality, and the great majority that of decided superiority to the India College. For my own part, and I am myself not totally without the advantage of personal observation, I am clear that at Hertford the irregularities

gularities of all kinds are fewer beyond comparison. Let me not be supposed the advocate of such irregularities, even in their most venial forms; but the test of comparison is the only fair criterion to be applied in such a case, and by that test I am content that the College should be judged.

But it is contended that, whatever the comparative excellence of this establishment, yet, considering that the students are compelled to attend it, care should be taken entirely to exempt it from the dangers which, in a measure at least, are admitted to attach to it. The time of the young men should be filled up with useful or innocent employment; their hours of leisure should be so far superintended, as to preserve them from the influence of the temptations incident to their age; the risks, in short, incurred by them, in a moral point of view, should be diminished to the lowest possible amount. In answer, I can only observe, in exact coincidence with some excellent remarks already offered by my honourable and highly valued friend behind the bar,* that one reason why the young persons appointed writers are compelled to attend the college is precisely that it is essential, with a view to the particular service for which they are destined,

that

* Mr. Money.

that they should previously have acquired habits of self-government; and how such habits can be acquired, without incurring a certain degree of the moral risk referred to, I profess myself unable even to conceive. ' If any person has discovered a solution of the problem, hitherto so torturing to human ingenuity, in what manner we are to reconcile a perpetual system of inspection and superintendence with that freedom of choice which is essential to moral agency—a course of watchful guardianship, by which error shall be rendered almost physically impossible, with the attainment of that self-control and self-discipline, to which the possibility of erring is an essential pre-requisite—an arrangement of time and employment by which all temptation shall be excluded, with that habit of resisting temptation which necessarily supposes a degree of exposure to it,—such a person cannot too soon announce his discovery, and claim the high station to which he will be entitled among the benefactors of his species. The truth is, the thing is impossible: you cannot be sure that your pupil has acquired the power to stand, unless you in some measure accustom him to that latitude of self-disposal, which inevitably involves a liability to fall.

“ What then,” it is asked, “ will you compel a parent to subject his son to the admitted hazard, what-

“ whatever be its amount, of an initiation into vice and dissipation? Shall he be necessitated to send forth his child, at the critical period of the commencement of manhood, from the safe and sheltered privacy of the domestic mansion, into a scene where his opening virtues may receive a fatal blight from the influence of example?” My answer is, have you, the anxious inquiring parent, resolved to commit the virtues of that tender child, only two years later, to the perils of a residence in Writers’ Buildings at Caleutta? Have you resolved to expose him, uncontrolled by parent or guardian, surrounded by a gay society of nearly his own age, and possessed of an almost unlimited command of money, to all the seductions of one of the most expensive, luxurious, and dissipated capitals in the world? Have you made up your parental mind to this measure? Then I have no difficulty in replying to your question. It would have been an anxious, a perplexing inquiry, to resolve *generally*; well may a parent pause, who is called to consider whether he shall send forth the son in whom his hopes and his fondness are centered, into the neighbourhood and contagion of vicious principles or practice: but the question, as proposed by you, is not difficult at all. You have so narrowed the conditions of the problem, that I undertake it without hesitation. I say that,

having determined to cast your son into the midst of the dangers with which his rising virtues must necessarily meet during his residence at any of the Indian Presidencies, and still more if at Calcutta, it is your bounden duty first to subject him to the probation of a public education. Having decided that he shall quit the security of his domestic residence for a premature introduction into life, and into the scenes I have alluded to, it is positively incumbent on you to prepare him for the navigation to which he is destined—to graduate his transition—to smooth the passage—which not I, but you compel him to encounter, in exchanging the haven of parental counsel and guardianship, for a wild and strong sea of temptation and opportunity. If you fear to do this—if your feelings or your conscience (and I pronounce not that word sarcastically) prevent you from exposing your offspring to the moral perils of a strictly-disciplined public seminary—if you dread his proving too weak even for that modified trial, then how can you reconcile it to your feelings or your conscience, to insist on his facing, without any previous fortification, the far more formidable dangers of an Indian residence? If you dare not trust him even to the preparatory and probationary process necessary—if you shrink from subjecting him to the limited and guarded risks of the training—then on what principle,

ciple, in the name of common consistency, can you venture to plunge him, untrained, unproved, unprepared, amidst the tremendous and accumulated hazards of the actual campaign?

Closely connected with the subject I have been considering, is one which has been a fertile theme of remark and complaint, namely, the number of the expulsions and rustications at the College. These have been thought, if not to be the effect, at least to afford a convincing proof of a system of discipline in some way faulty. Now, in the first place, as to the fact, I conceive it to be a mistake to suppose that the number of these punishments at Hertford greatly exceeds the number of those at other seminaries. Mr. Malthus, writing in 1816, produced well authenticated parallel instances; and I could name a public school of great celebrity, in which, since the time in which the present question was before discussed in this Court—that is, since March 1817, not fewer than *twelve* expulsions have occurred, *nine* of which took place at one and the same time.

(*A Proprietor here requested that the school should be named.*)

I shall have no difficulty in naming the school in question to any gentleman out of Court, for I speak from what I doubt not to be good information; but I must, for obvious reasons, re-

quest to be excused from mentioning the name publicly. The truth however is, that the expulsions at the India College are much more readily heard of than those which take place at other seminaries. Occurrences of this unpleasant nature, at most institutions, are rather suppressed than blazoned abroad ; for to reverse the sentence is impossible, and to complain of it is only to make the infliction more public. Quite otherwise at Haileybury :— every act of severe justice there has been the occasion of loud and clamorous denunciation. I will not now enter into the circumstances that have caused this state of things ; they have been clearly explained by Mr. Malthus and others ; wherever the blame of them may rest, it is not on the Institution itself ; but the true remedy for the evil is obvious, and it has repeatedly been pointed out. Let the College be only supported—let the Indian public once feel that they must live with it *for better and for worse*—and the incessant clamourings which its stern rejection of inadequate pretensions has occasioned—the complaints and misrepresentations calculated to sap its very foundation, will speedily come to a period, and the important benefits which it is so well adapted to produce will flow from it without hindrance.

Without reference to the consideration just suggested, I cannot help observing, that almost any

any comparison of the number of expulsions at the India College with the number at other public seminaries necessarily involves a fallacy, and I will endeavour to explain why.

The great peculiarity of the institution under consideration consists in this, that every student admitted into its walls is possessed of an appointment, amounting to an excellent and most respectable provision for life ; in effect, I hesitate not to say, that the value of these appointments constitutes the real difficulty with which the establishment has to contend—the first and last of its difficulties. Partially, indeed, that difficulty has already, as to its practical operation, been smoothed away ; I trust it may be yet further reduced ; whether it can be entirely obviated is a different question ; but at present it undoubtedly exists, and in a sensible degree.

Now let gentlemen glance at the effect of this peculiarity in the constitution of the College, with regard to the specific subject of expulsions. In other places of education, generally speaking, one main object of the parent is that the son should go through the course with at least *some* degree of credit, and this object preponderates over the wish that he should barely get through. If, therefore, the parent receives an intimation from the master, or other teachers of the place, that the youth

youth has no chance of completing his period of studentship creditably, he is usually glad to act on such intimation, and to remove the pupil to some other seminary. Often, indeed, he does not wait for the hint, but spontaneously withdraws a boy whom he perceives to be incorrigible. Suppose him, however, to do otherwise, and the young idler to proceed from bad to worse, then the warning will be given more authoritatively ; “ Your son (he will be told in a whisper) has “ been guilty of considerable irregularities, nay, “ he has even incurred some jeopardy of ex- “ pulsion : his longer stay cannot benefit himself, “ and must injure others.” Thus admonished, any parent of ordinary prudence, far from resenting the advice, will feel himself indebted for it, and transport the delinquent elsewhere without delay. But conceive even this communication to be slighted, and the student to commit at length an offence clearly worthy of expulsion, though not of a very flagrant or contumacious character ; in this conjuncture once more the friendly option would be afforded—“ Remove (it would be said) “ your son tacitly, while yet there is time, other- “ wise we must unavoidably proceed to expel him ;” and to such an address no parent—not merely none of ordinary prudence, but none not wholly lost to common sense—would venture to be deaf
 for

for a single moment. At the India College the case is very different; there the value of the studentship is such as to render many, if not most parents, much more anxious that their sons should pass, than that they should pass creditably. They wish them to gain honours; but, their chief solicitude is that they should preserve their appointments. On the other hand, the young tyro is often as averse to the nomination as his father is attached to it. What is obviously the consequence? He soon becomes, as perhaps he would have been any where else, idle, irregular, disobedient. He is warned, but warned in vain. At length the professors intimate to the father or guardian that he had better be withdrawn; but the wishes and convenience of the parties are arrayed against the advice, and, in most instances, it is disregarded. Positive offences, and those perhaps of magnitude, ensue; again the parent is urged: he is more than urged—he is reminded of the contingency, if not of the probability of expulsion. But on most parents, possessed as they are with the idea that one son is off their list, even this suggestion is thrown away; one or two terms more, they flatter themselves, and the danger will be over. Another stage of collegiate misconduct is next reached—the penalty of expulsion is actually incurred, and the parent is earnestly requested to withdraw

withdraw his son privately, as the only alternative against his public dismissal. One would think that *now*, at least, the whisper would be omnipotent; and yet painful experience, to which it is not necessary more particularly to allude, proves that there are parents but too ready to reject even this offer, and to dare all the risks of a public expulsion, in hopes of a reversal of the sentence by the visitor.

It is therefore plain that, instead of instituting a comparison between the number of expulsions at Haileybury and that of other seminaries, the only fair process would be, to add together the number of expulsions and of *tacit* removals at each place, and to compare together these two aggregates. To frame such a comparison with any accuracy would undoubtedly be most difficult. The removals which I have called *tacit* are *ex vi termini* not matters of notoriety, and therefore scarcely admit of being numbered. But the general fact that such removals take place is notorious enough; and I believe that even a superficial inquiry into the subject will convince any person, that the occurrence is very frequent at schools or colleges of any size or strictness. Compare, in any year, the number of young men admitted at either of the Universities with the number of those who keep their terms and take degrees, and the disproportion

tion is very striking. Taking a casual year at Cambridge, I found the number of the degrees scarcely to exceed one-half that of the admissions ; and though doubtless some of those who did not graduate had died, and others had perhaps never purposed more than a temporary stay, and a third class had left the university from other causes, yet it cannot be questioned that a good number had either been withdrawn by their friends, or had voluntarily retired, in consequence of the plan *not being found to answer*. In illustration of the distinction between expulsions and private dismissals or removals, I will refer to a fact, which I believe will be verified by any inquirer ; namely, that at the endowed schools the greatest number of expulsions take place from among the boys on the foundation ; and so also at colleges, the greatest number take place among the *scholars* or *students* (who draw emoluments from the College), and not from among the ordinary pupils or under-graduates. Why is this ? Is it because the collegers in the one case, and scholars in the other, are more prone to commit offences than their associates who are not on the foundation ? Certainly not ; but because, having appointments of some value to lose, they are more apt to wait for a formal expulsion, instead of withdrawing on a private intimation given by the scholastic or collegiate auth-

rities. Difficult as it is to treat the tacit dismissals of which I speak as a matter of computation, I have attempted it. At a college of considerable size and eminence, it appears, on a rough calculation, that in a course of time the under-graduates so dismissed amounted to at least one in seven of those admitted. The calculation is necessarily rough, and I do not mean to propound it as applicable generally, but I believe it would apply to many other colleges. Probably, however, the average of such dismissals throughout the universities would be found smaller, by reason of its embracing the less strict colleges; and indeed I believe that the occurrence is not so frequent at the small as at the large colleges, proportionably to the numbers they contain. I have heard of a computation for a whole university, making the ratio of expulsions and tacit dismissals together, one in twenty, or twenty-five. At Haileybury, the expulsions, including the few tacit removals that have taken place, amount to about one in fourteen or fifteen; which is scarcely half the proportion of those at the distinguished college I have alluded to, and which I firmly believe to be smaller than at almost any other collegiate institution of the same magnitude. Considering, indeed, the great strictness of the system maintained at the India College, on which I have already remarked, and the disadvantages

vantages under which that college has laboured— a subject fully treated by Mr. Malthus in his well-known pamphlet—it must be considered surprising (as my Oxford friend, already cited, has observed) that the dismissals of all kinds, overt and tacit, from the institution have been so few.

A great deal has been said respecting the statutes of the College. I do not entertain the intention, nor can I perceive the relevancy of discussing those statutes; but the severe comments which have been made on them may justify my offering a few words. They have been reprobated as arbitrary and despotical. Well and wisely did the Hon. Mover of the present question say this, as he said many other things, that the proper theory of a seminary for education is, that it should be a despotism, but a despotism conducted in a parental spirit. The idea seems to me unimpeachably correct; but if you are to have a despotism, then clearly one of two courses must be followed: either a wide, general, and undefined power must be lodged in the hands of the conductors of the institution, to be exercised at their discretion, and without question or control, or you must be at the pains of defining and apportioning out on paper the several privileges and authorities with which you mean to invest them, and which, in their compound, are to make up the despotic sway incident

dent to their office. Should you, however, pursue this latter course—and it is the course actually adopted with regard to Haileybury—you must not be astonished if that, which you write down—that is, if the statutes which you enact—sound harsh and arbitrary. Your regulations were *ex hypothesi* to constitute the functions of a despotic supremacy; and it is absolutely impossible that the features of a despotism, when thus analytically viewed, and separated from those parental feelings and dispositions which in each particular case are intended to correct and qualify them in practice, should not wear a very revolting appearance.

I have now afforded to the Court such a view as I am able of the Institution at Haileybury, and trust it will be felt that a change of the present system should not be hazarded lightly, or without clear reason shewn.

It next and lastly belongs to my plan to consider the particular modification of the present system which is contemplated by the proposition before the Court; or rather by its supporters; for the proposition itself (as I before said) is purely negative. It puts an end to the necessity of an education at the college, and every thing else it sets at large. The gentlemen, however, who recommended the measure, seem, for the most part, to look to the substitution of a test by public examination

mination as the passport of a commencing writer, leaving the candidate to qualify himself for the trial where he pleases.

The objection I feel to this plan may shortly be stated thus: that while the system now in existence provides, as I have shewn, for all the three objects which guide parents in the choice of a public seminary—namely, the attainment of useful knowledge, the formation of moral habits, and the acquisition of desirable friendships—the system proposed to be substituted fails in each of those three points: it will very imperfectly secure the attainment of the requisite knowledge; it cannot possibly secure the due formation of moral habits, and it does not even attempt to secure the cultivation of intimacies among those who are to be companions or contemporaries in the Indian civil service.

On the two latter topics it is unnecessary to enlarge, as the proposition speaks for itself. The whole efficacy, whatever it may be, of the proposed plan, consists in a literary and scientific examination; all moral probation, therefore, is out of the question, and the only intercourse to be enforced among the persons examined would be their being confronted in examination.

Now, with regard to the effect of a public examination, as a test of the requisite proficiency in science and literature, I beg, in the first place, to express

express my cordial concurrence with those speakers who have declared their belief, that the proposed test, under the circumstances that must attend the application of it, would prove wholly inoperative ; and whenever that effect takes place, I need not add that all provision for the education of the Company's servants must, under the new plan, be at an end. What hope, in fact, could there be that the standard of qualification should be maintained, considering that the attempt to maintain it would perpetually be counteracted by all the powerful interests and prejudices against which even the College, with all the weight of its institutions, and with all its tardily acknowledged merits, has found it so hard to prevail ? I will not trouble the court with tracing the steps by which the process of deterioration is likely to be brought about. This has been done by others ; it has been very satisfactorily done on the present occasion by an Hon. Proprietor who spoke early in the debate, and to whose very cogent reasonings on the subject I have not yet heard even an attempt to give a direct answer. The only arguments urged on the other side have been founded on certain supposed precedents, on which I shall take an opportunity of observing presently ; and in the meanwhile I repeat, that

* Mr. Poynder ; see also Asiatic Journal, Vol. III. pp. 577, 578 ; Quarterly Review, No. 33, pp. 129—133.

that we have no security that these tests and examinations, which are to secure every thing under the new system, will not themselves, and in a very short time, degenerate into useless forms.

In the next place, admitting, for argument's sake, your test to retain its efficiency entire and inviolate, I ask what, after all, it will secure ?

Let us suppose what alone would afford any probability of the standard of qualification continuing unimpaired,—namely, that the compulsory clause should be repealed only so far as relates to the length of stay at the College of Haileybury. Let us suppose that every youth appointed to a writership should be obliged to enter that College, but that he should also be obliged, or (which would amount to the same thing) should be at liberty, to leave it for India the very instant that he was found able to undergo the present tests. What, after all, is the degree of proficiency that this system would secure ? Every person conversant with the College knows—every person conversant with academical education in general will readily believe—that the young men who do most credit to the place pass the limit of the tests very far, and some by a distance scarcely measurable. How indeed can it be otherwise ? The object of a test is to ascertain the *minimum* of qualification that will suffice—to exclude only positive and palpable deficiency

deficiency ; and of necessity, therefore, it can furnish no criterion for attainments which exceed that low quantum. Every person conversant with the College farther knows, that to imbue the students fully with a generous ambition for distinction is for the most part a work of time—that the influence of the system seldom *tells* on the feelings and character of the pupil before the second term, seldom, perhaps, adequately before the third. To what, then, must the instances of eminent merit which that seminary has produced be attributed ? Not to the tests, which the best candidates leave far behind them—but to the prizes of honour, and to the time allowed for earning them—to the habit of application which the system forms, and the spirit of liberal rivalry which it cherishes,—to the powerful contagion of surrounding or recorded examples, and the salutary effect of matured habits of confidence between the pupil and his instructors. The effects are indeed admirable ; but once fix the test as the limit both ways—once let it regulate the *maximum* as well as the *minimum* of qualification—and all these effects, all this excellence, all that makes the institution what it is, are at an end. The last are become first. All pre-eminence, nay, all mediocrity of proficiency, is as absolutely shut out as positive unworthiness. The most meritorious part of the youthful community—those whose

whose conduct forms not only the ornament, but in some sense also the safeguard of the establishment, are, generally speaking, swept away in rapid succession ; while a residuum, of vice and idleness and incapacity is left, to linger on in disgrace and discontent, to perpetuate the infection of its own virus, and probably to generate overt mischief and disorder.

This, however, is not precisely the system contemplated by the supporters of the present motion. They would repeal the compulsory clause in toto, and leave nothing obligatory on the young writer except the ordeal of an examination. Such an arrangement differs, undoubtedly, from that which I have just now imagined ; but it differs, on the whole, for the worse. A residence at the College might effect something, even though it were uniformly cut short at the point where it promised to effect most ; but, by the proposed plan, the test would be all in all. By the very supposition, this test must measure the lowest amount of admissible proficiency ; by the very supposition, the candidate immediately on passing the test, may be despatched to the East by his relations : and those, surely, must be perversely misread in human nature who do not believe that, in a vast majority of cases, the relations would eagerly avail themselves of the privilege. Graduate your tests as you will,

institute what prizes you please, still the great prize of an instant embarkation for service, and the low test which commanded that prize, would carry all before them. What, then, is the result, except that, as before, the *minimum* is converted into the *maximum*? Your criterion would be a sort of mental micrometer—ascertaining, not properly *how much* of qualification would be necessary, but *how little* might suffice. To this low level all genius and all acquirement, all hope and all ambition, would be beat down; and we should, in a great degree, have returned to the principles of the old system, by which every boy who could write joined hand and do a sum in the rule of three, was forthwith pronounced worthy to assist in the government of India.

But it does not follow that the test, low and comparatively useless as it might be, would in every case be endured successfully. There are those who finally fail at the College, and this from literary disqualification alone; and at least as great a number, and probably a much greater number, would fail if there were no College. Supposing the test, therefore, to be established and to be enforced, it would at first, I doubt not, attract high applause; but, as soon as the pressure and friction of the machine began to be felt—as soon as young men conceived to be permanently provided

provided for lost their appointments, not a few of those regrets, those objections, and those complaints would again be heard, which we now hear respecting the present system: it would again be found that the Company had meant well, but had acted very unadvisedly; and this Court might, perhaps, be reassembled to consider the expediency of some other and yet unheard-of substitute.

In answer to all this, however, we may again be reminded of the actual precedents which the system and practice of the Company are alleged to furnish in favour of tests and examinations. The practice of Haileybury itself affords, as it is contended, an instance. Besides this, it has been said, that the qualifications of the persons who are appointed assistant-surgeons, or officers in the Company's regular ships, are ascertained by examination alone. And, lastly, the example of the military seminary at Addiscombe is quoted, as furnishing a case in point, and perfectly conclusive. On these supposed precedents I will offer a very few comments.

And first, as to the tests established at Haileybury, it will be seen, from what I have already said, that the argument does not apply: in effect, it begs the whole question; which is as to the efficacy, not of a test enforced by examination, but of a *mere* test enforced by examination.

It is whether an isolated trial of literary proficiency will answer the same purpose as where that trial forms a part of a continued system of instruction and inspection. To say, therefore, that the efficiency of this portion of the system, as cut off and separate from the rest, is proved by its efficiency when applied in connection and co-operation with the rest, is manifestly to take for granted the very thing in dispute.

Secondly, as to the examination of the assistant-surgeons, I do not, at any rate, admit this to be an instance in point: but, in fact, it is a mistake to say that the fitness of the persons appointed to these situations is tried by mere examination. For, first, the surgical knowledge of the candidate is ascertained, not by examination but by the testimonial of the College of Surgeons, which is an absolute *sine qua non*; and it is important to recollect that the College of Surgeons, so far from granting their testimonial on a mere examination, always require a certificate of at least six months' attendance on the surgical practice of a hospital before they will consent to examine at all. Next, as to the medical proficiency of the candidate, it is true that formerly this was trusted to a mere examination; but what was the result? Why, that some few years ago, the Directors, finding, from experience, that this mere test was inadequate,

inadequate, made a rule that no candidate should in future be put on his examination until he should have produced proofs of his having gone through a certain course of medical study, namely, the attendance for a certain period on the medical practice of a metropolitan hospital, besides the attendance on a course of medical lectures. This regulation is perfectly agreeable to the practice of the College of Physicians itself in an analogous instance. For that College will not license any person to practise as a physician, unless, in addition to his having compleated his twenty-sixth year and taken his Doctor's degree, he can prove that he resided for two entire years previously to such degree in some University with the object of studying medicine.

The alleged precedent of the officers of the Company's regular ships will, on inquiry, be found exactly as applicable as that of the assistant-surgeons. Is every thing in the instance of those officers committed to the effect of an examination? On the contrary, by compulsory regulations it is exacted, that no person shall be a third mate who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, and performed at least two voyages to and from India in the Company's service; that none shall be a second mate who shall not have attained the age of twenty-two, and performed at least

least one such voyage as third mate; that none shall be appointed chief-mate who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three, and performed at least one such voyage as second or third mate; and, lastly, that none shall be a captain who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five, and performed at least one such voyage as chief or second mate. This, then, so far as the difference of the cases allows, is exactly that for which I contend; it is an authority that a mere examination will not suffice—that you must superadd to your test a previous probation: for it is plain that a very rough probation is required from those naval officers; it is insisted that they shall have seen service—that they shall have gone through a course of actual discipline from the winds and waves,—instructors who will not flatter.

These precedents, then, if applicable at all, apply on the contrary side to that for which they were cited; but, to crown all, reference has been made to the example of the Company's Military Seminary. If ever an institution existed entirely and conclusively parallel in the point now under consideration, and indeed in most of the points which have been discussed, with the College of Haileybury, it is the greatly (and I doubt not justly) praised seminary at Addiscombe. There, as at Haileybury, the system is compulsory; for

for by the rules and regulations, no person can be appointed to the artillery or engineer corps of the Company's army, who shall not have remained at Addiscombe during a prescribed period. There, as at Haileybury, you have the test of an examination both on the outset and at the close of the student's stay; and yet, not content with both, you compel him to go through a given course of instruction and inspection, under masters not chosen by himself, but forced on him by the Company. There, as at Haileybury, not only is the student's whole period of stay probationary, but his first six months are probationary in a peculiar sense, for he is attached to a probationary academy, and if not reported to be competent to enter the ulterior or foundation academy, he is returned to his friends, and can never again be admitted to the seminary. Is it, then, possible to bring forward the example of this institution, as an authority in opposition to the existing system for the education of the civil servants? Is it not a direct authority the other way?

In short,—I must retain my opinion—that a mere test would afford a most imperfect, and at the same time a most precarious criterion, even of that which alone it pretended to secure—literary and scientific proficiency. The single case where tests are efficient is where the prizes, instead

instead of being distributed only among a definite and limited number of persons, and of being actually given in the first instance, subject only to the condition of their being forfeited if the due measure of qualification is not attained, are held out to be contended for by all the world, or at least by a much greater number than there are prizes. Something like this principle has been recommended by Mr. Malthus for adoption in the appointment of writers; and the proposal has been reprobated by the venerable Director* who preceded me. As to myself, I refer to the plan purely for the purposes of illustration. I certainly am not prepared to recommend it; but I am fully prepared to say that, if you will have nothing but a test,—by this way, and this alone, can you render that test operative. If you have a mere test, leaving the method of appointment as it is, all the selfish feelings and prejudices of that class of persons who constitute the recipients of Indian patronage will be continually armed against the maintenance of the test in its purity. Owing the appointments conferred on their sons or other relatives, in the first instance, to interest alone,—having already received those appointments,—and sensible that the trials and examinations to be undergone may endanger the possession, but cannot confirm it,

it, they will always be instinctively leagued against the continuance of a severe criterion of qualification. But, if your prizes were thrown open to an unlimited number of competitors, whatever the *wishes* of the combatants might be, their obvious interest would operate to produce a very different result. Feeling that they had no access to a most valuable acquisition, except through the medium of hard conflict, they would be led to qualify themselves with the utmost care; and, from the quantity of talent on the field, the actual amount of qualification would always be considerable, and might be expected to be in many instances extraordinary. Thus the value of the prizes—that very circumstance which would tend to depress the standard in the one case,—would tend to elevate it in the other. Let me not for a moment be understood to imply that you are reduced to an election between these two methods of procedure. You have a third system—not open to your choice, for you have chosen it already—a system which has already been proved to be excellent by its fruits—a system, which requires only to be as firmly and wisely cherished as it was liberally adopted.

Before I quit this division of my subject, I ought, perhaps, to observe on the plan of substituting for the education at Haileybury an education at one

of the English universities. This plan has been strongly recommended in the course of the debate; but no details have been given, and I am at a loss to understand under what particular provisions it is meant that we should adopt it. Is it intended that our writerships are to be attached to the universities, in the manner of exhibitions or fellowships, and to be freely bestowed on those whom the proper academical authorities shall pronounce the most deserving? Or is it rather meant, that the nominations shall take place, as now, by the Directors, but that the young writer, instead of being sent to Haileybury, shall be compelled to pass a certain number of terms at Cambridge or Oxford, and to acquire certain honours or distinctions as the condition of his being allowed to proceed to India?

If the former course is to be pursued, some observations which I have already offered will apply. If the question had originally been proposed, in what manner the Company might best be supplied with civil servants, I do not think that a true friend to India could possibly have objected to any *effectual* plan by which the *elite* of the great seminaries of this country should be destined to that vocation. At present, however, such a plan, involving, as it does, the sacrifice of the patronage allotted, or rather left, to the Company, by their Charter-

Charter-Act,* can only be established by consent of parties. Even *with* that consent, I cannot forget that an excellent system is already in operation; and, at all events, before I acquiesce in its supersession, I must have the most ample security that the new erection to be planted on its ruins, will really and *bond fide* be carried into effect. I must have the most ample security, that the valuable patronage relinquished by the Company, shall not find its way into other hands. The adoption, however, of such a plan, in all its integrity, appears to me so utterly beyond the limits of probability, that I should regard any further discussion of its merits as an absolute waste of time. I rather conceive, indeed, that the advocates for academical education are far from contemplating so complete a revolution in the disposal of Indian appointments, and that they look no further than to the substitution of the universities, or of one of them at pleasure, for Haileybury, all other things remaining entirely or as nearly as possible the same.

But have those honourable Proprietors really considered the consequences which their project involves?

First, instead of going out to India, as they now do, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, the young

writers would go three years later. The academical course, even only to the taking of the first degree, requires a residence of nearly three years and a half, besides the necessity of being admitted many months previous to such residence ; the age at which that residence commences is usually towards eighteen ; and, as the course includes no instruction either in law, political economy, or Oriental learning, the student who wished to supply the defect, would probably find it necessary to remain in England some few months after he had graduated. That a very accomplished candidate for public life might thus be formed, I cheerfully admit ; but, on the other hand, if you wish your writers to look forward to a return to England (and if our connection with India is to remain on its present footing, this is absolutely necessary), it cannot be denied that twenty-two is a late period for the commencement of their actual service. However, I do not myself venture a definitive opinion whether the change in this respect would be for the better or the worse ; all I observe is, that such a change would in fact be the result of the proposed plan, and that in that view it ought to be distinctly contemplated and considered.

Secondly, think of the *expensiveness* of the plan you recommend. I should indeed be ashamed to except to it on this ground, if it promised to secure, better

better than the existing system, the good education of the civil servants ; but, being perfectly satisfied of the contrary, I conceive that I may fairly state its far greater expensiveness as an auxiliary head of objection.

According to careful computations, I find the whole expense of each student at Haileybury to his friends to average at about £160 per annum, during the two years of his stay, exclusive of what he may cost during the twelve weeks of vacation in each year. What the average expense—would be if the universities were substituted for Haileybury, I cannot state ; but, surely, no man of any experience on the subject, will hesitate to place it at a much higher amount. The feeling of the young writers that they are already in the high road to a fortune, will always be apt to lead them into expensive habits of living. This feeling operates even at Haileybury, notwithstanding the strictness of the regulations there for the purpose of checking profuseness ; for, speaking frankly, those regulations seem to me rather too strict than too lenient. At Oxford, or Cambridge, surrounded as the young men would be by examples of careless and even extravagant expenditure, and by temptations to follow those examples, it may safely be conjectured that the cost of the college residence to the parents in each year would be doubled

doubled—to say nothing of the expense of vacations of twenty weeks instead of twelve—of a residence at college of upwards of three years instead of two,—and of a continuance in England up to the age of twenty-one instead of eighteen.

There are, however, greater objections than these. I would say then, thirdly, that an education at the universities will not, in the majority of instances, afford an equal probability of proper qualification with an education at Haileybury. In so saying, I surely cannot be understood to speak slightly of those noble seats of learning, for both of which I feel the greatest respect, and for one the sincerest attachment. But at the universities, the opportunities of idleness, and even of vice, are stronger and more numerous than at Haileybury; the discipline and superintendance are decidedly less rigid: young men also of family and opulence repair thither with little or no purpose of study; and, on the whole, while an academic residence furnishes powerful incentives to honourable exertion, it also places before the young mind too many seductions of a very potent kind to the misemployment of time and talents. Even among those who regularly take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and who, perhaps, do not constitute much more than half the number admitted, the examples of studious reading are not so usual

as among the students, taken together, at Haileybury. At the latter institution, a considerable portion read fairly, and fully half may be said to read hard. He must be a bold man who would say that for the universities. I am possessed of estimates of the number of real and effective readers at both the universities; but I suppress them as being both invidious and unfair. I regard them as unfair by reason of the very circumstance I have already mentioned, namely, that many of the young academics are non-readers by profession. Let it, however, be recollected, that the influence of these triflers extends very widely, and that their example infects numbers who have not the same right to be idle. Again, I do not mean to deny,—on the contrary, I have already distinctly admitted,—that much good is received at those celebrated seminaries by many who are not hard students. Still less do I forget the numerous instances of intense industry and brilliant acquirement which both of them produce from year to year, or the inestimable services which each has rendered to the cause of liberal learning and useful science. I only remark that, out of the limited number of writers annually appointed by the Company, it is highly important that as large a proportion as possible should be exercised to habits of application, and that the actual proportion under

under the present system, is clearly larger than could reasonably be expected under that which it is proposed to substitute.

Fourthly, it is clearly necessary to the plan that the conclusive appointment of the young writer should be made to depend on his acquiring some honour or distinction at the university to which he is sent. The mere attainment of a degree, speaking at least of Cambridge, is too easy a task to afford an adequate test; and though the standard at Oxford is said to be higher, I cannot conceive that the difference is very material. Even a low honour may be had at Cambridge, unless matters are much altered there, with four or five months of steady reading. Recollect, however, that not only do more than half of those who are examined for the first degree fall short of honours, but that in every year there are some who gain their degree with great difficulty, or even miss it altogether. Recollect, also, the rustications and expulsions, overt and tacit, which, as I have before explained, are not uncommon at the University. And, on the whole, can any thing be plainer than that, if an academical education is meant really and *bonâ fide* to replace that of Haileybury, the very same results will follow which are set forth as the specific reasons for an innovation of system? It were perfectly fallacious to suppose otherwise. Some of the

the probationers will be misled by evil company, and will prove idle; others will be disobedient; hints of removal will be given; hints of removal will not be taken; open dismissals will follow—grief, disappointment, complaint, recrimination, desire of change—in a word, the whole series of effects which we now witness will revolve in regular order: the very discussions in this court, discussions so much deprecated, so undoubtedly inconvenient, will break out afresh—and propositions like the present will be made, propositions for addressing Parliament to repeal that very clause, whatever it may be, which Parliament shall, in consequence of the present application, have adopted.

Here, in my view, is the decisive, the irrefutable objection to the present motion. The honourable mover disclaimed all purpose or idea of destroying, or superseding the College. I doubt not, I perfectly confide in the sincerity of the disclaimer; and yet I believe that such would be the result, though not the *intended* result of the measure proposed. But, supposing me to be mistaken in this belief, at least the Institution will be placed in a situation of great hazard; and then, what will be the total effect of that which we are called to do, except that a system of approved merit—a system admitted to be working well, a system shewn

to have produced highly beneficial consequences, will be destroyed, will at least be abandoned to the keeping of chance, with the view of avoiding evils, which, after all, cannot be avoided, and of securing advantages which are utterly unattainable ?

I have omitted to notice one argument which has been used on the present occasion, although unconnected with the general scope of the discussion. It has been said that there is a larger demand for civil servants in India than the College has the means of supplying. The building contains but a given number of students, and that number must reside two years ; while the exigencies of the service are at once great and pressing. On this head I do not myself possess any information ; but, presuming the fact to be as stated, I cannot for a moment feel perplexed as to the proper inference.

With respect, first, to the present and immediate demand, is it meant that we are to supply it by setting up writerships as premiums to be contended for by all persons indiscriminately, who can undergo an examination in the requisite branches of study ? If not, then the argument amounts exactly to this—not that Haileybury will not train young writers properly, but that young writers ought to be sent out untrained. The necessity of the case must, it seems, suspend the operation of our principles, and, *pro hac vice*, at least, must restore those times when

when no other qualification for an Indian appointment was thought of than the power of obtaining it. Now, granting all this to be the case, I ask why the pressure of a temporary emergency is to occasion the permanent alteration of our system? Surely the course of prudence is to meet the particular crisis (resorting to Parliament if necessary), by a particular law, and to prevent the recurrence of that crisis by provisions of a more general nature; and the worst effect of a present necessity to send out ill-qualified writers would be "If we at once destroyed the means of qualifying our writers in future.

Then, as to the prospect, if such a prospect there be, of a permanently augmented demand for civil servants, I have already suggested the answer to the argument. If the fittest means for instructing your civil servants be those which you have now adopted, but those means are not on a sufficient scale to provide for the exigencies of the case, the practical conclusion is too obvious to require specifying. There are Proprietors who dislike the College, and who think we have too much of it already; but for those who approve of that Institution, it would be a singular reason for virtually superseding it, that it is only too small to answer its purpose. In one word, whatever is done in order to meet a temporary difficulty,

should be considered as an exception, and should take place without involving permanent change; and, if on a more general and prospective view, we find the principle and operation of the establishment good, but its size appears too limited for the demands that may be expected, let us rather increase it in point of dimensions, than adopt measures which may materially impair its utility, or even shake it to the foundation.

"But is there then to be no end of these ex-pulsions?" On that point I will speak cautiously. If by the question it is meant to be asked, whether this Institution can be so altered as to exclude the penalty of expulsion, or even the hazard of its being enforced in many instances? I certainly can make but one answer. I will not hold out, I will not indulge, fallacious hopes. If any words formerly uttered by me can fairly be understood as warranting such hopes, I beg leave to retract them. I will not deceive myself, nor will I delude the Proprietors—well knowing that any system of probation, whatever its nature—that even a mere literary probation, like the proposed test, must necessarily suppose instances of failure; that it must involve the *contingency* of failure in each case, and the moral certainty of failure in some. I will not for a moment pretend to give a pledge which I know would be visionary.

How

How would it be possible for me to promise an immunity from the contingency in question, when I feel, not only that probation is inevitably subject to that contingency, but that its whole efficacy depends on its being so subject?... If, however, I am only desired to state my belief whether the number of expulsions is likely to diminish, though even on this point I will not speak decisively, I will say, that if the institution is adequately cherished, and is thereby made strong in opinion, a twofold result will probably follow:—

First, young men will not be compelled to resort to it who are palpably unfit for the trial. Before the establishment of the College, parents who could command appointments to the civil service were always under the strongest temptation to select for such appointments the least manageable of their sons, those least likely to push their fortunes in other lines. It was not in human nature to resist this temptation. The tormenting boy, therefore, received his nomination, and was at once swept out of the way. I mean not to speak the language of blame; I am stating that which it is consistent with the principles that ordinarily govern mankind to expect; and I may confirm the remark by reading a passage from a letter written by the late lamented Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton:—“To revert,” says the Bishop,

Bishop, " to Hertford, if the institution should " be dissolved, I know not what is to supply its " place: nothing but the languages required in " the service of the Company are, or can well be, " thought of at Calcutta; and as to leaving the parents, who obtain writerships, to educate their sons as they please, as the very appointment is the young man's fortune ready-made, it is not to be hoped from human nature that there will be a very general solicitude to form their minds and manners; many will consider it as a very needless expense, and will bestow their money and care upon sons destined to the liberal professions, and who must find their way in the world."

This is the language of a man of sense and observation. When, however, it is distinctly understood by parents that the appointment of an incompetent young man, or, it may be added, of a young man otherwise of good parts and dispositions, but who personally dislikes the vocation thus assigned to him, involves the risk of the loss of the very prize in view, they will be more cautious; they will select more fitly, and with greater regard to the wishes and feelings of the person selected. This will be the first good effect; the next will be that they will listen more readily to the suggestions of the College authorities as to the

the expediency of removing an untoward or incapable subject; and often by a timely resort to this measure, they may be enabled to arrange the renewal of the lost appointment to a more promising member of the same family. Then, as to any of the young men, who after all may dislike the College, the more confirmed the institution becomes in the general opinion, and the less hope there appears, even to the wildest of them in his wildest moments, that a contumacious defiance of authority will escape unpunished, the greater will be their disposition to subdue their aversion, and to acquiesce in a system which cannot be overthrown.

The question may, however, be put, "Is it not hard that a very young man, for an act of momentary indiscretion, should be deprived of an appointment which amounts to a provision for life? My answer must be by some other questions. Does not the appointment of which you speak carry with it a *trust* as well as a provision? Rate as highly as you will the value of that provision, can it be more than commensurate with the importance of that trust? For the due execution of that trust, is it not fitting that the young writer should be prepared by undergoing a course of probation? Is it possible, in the nature of your service, that such probation should effectually be had, except

except in this country, and previously to the actual and definitive nomination? Is it possible, in the nature of things, that such probation can be had anywhere, without incurring some risk that the candidate shall be found wanting? Early in life I was greatly struck with an essay, by a popular writer, *against inconsistency in our expectations*. The argument of the essayist is, that if men deliberately devote themselves to the attainment of a particular object, they must not afterwards repine when they feel the sacrifices which their pursuit has cost them; it was their own choice; they made their election, and they ought not to long like children for incompatible advantages. This is the very argument I presume to use in the present instance. We loved not the possession of a cheap and inglorious patronage; we chose to burden the noble appointments confided to the Company with the charges and the hazards of providing a qualification for the persons nominated; then, when those charges are to be paid, when those hazards take actual effect, let us not start as if some strange thing had befallen us: no, we made our election, we bade for a great and good object; and having achieved our purpose, let us pay the price.

Is it, after all, a price too costly that we pay? Observe the singular nature of our rule in the East. Over the immense area and swarming population

of British India, we pour ~~forth~~, from year to year, a body of British functionaries. From one boundary of a vast empire to the other, the Executive Power, throughout all its departments, is in the hands of foreigners, forced on the people, without the consent of the subject being in any one instance asked or known. I say not this in the way of blame ; the government, like the acquisition itself, is one of the sword, and at present no change can be contemplated. Such is the fact, however ; the will of the governed has in this case no influence, not even an imperfect one, in the choice of their rulers. But, if so, are we not under the strongest obligations to supply, by our own spontaneous acts, those qualifications in the functionaries we employ, which cannot be enforced, by any regular reaction of the inclinations of the people ? There is one consideration which appears to me at this time peculiarly to enhance the force of these obligations. It is not merely, as was observed by my Hon. and Learned Friend on the floor* who argued the whole of this question with so much force and justice, that the incompetency of a public functionary may produce peculiar mischief in India : but, besides this, all credible testimony conspires in assuring us, that a rapid increase of intelligence is now observable among our Indian subjects.

Q

jects.

* Mr. Impey.

jects. At such a crisis, ought we not, with all our energy, to employ the best, the most effective, the only legitimate means of maintaining our dominion? Ought we not to use every exertion for the improvement of the moral and intellectual character of our executive servants?—always recollecting that our mental ascendancy—that the supremacy of character—is the real secret of our strength—the real talisman of our power,—and that the moment when that mental ascendancy ceases to exist, that moment our political ascendancy, which is dependant on it, *will*, and *ought* to go also.

Thus are we situated relatively to the people of India; how, meanwhile, stands our account with the people of England? It would have been possible, it would even have been natural, for the British Legislature, instead of conferring on the Company the exclusive, or nearly exclusive disposal of the nominations to the civil service, to have thrown wide the gates of that service to all the youth, and enterprize, and ambition, and capacity of the nation at large. Were the entrance opened at this moment, who can doubt that an ardent competition would take place among the most intelligent classes of the community, for admission to the discharge of the administrative functions of British India? But the governing state, while

while considerably ~~qualifying~~ our commercial monopoly, has left untouched our monopoly of patronage ; it is still vested in the Company, as represented by their Directors—a great and noble boon undoubtedly : but does it not, therefore, become doubly and a thousand fold incumbent on us to ~~justify~~ that generous grant—to prove ourselves worthy of that sacred trust ? Every consideration urges on us the importance even of superfluous exertion for this purpose ; that when the period, now in no very distant prospect, shall arrive—the period at which we shall apply for the renovation of our privileges—we may meet the Legislature with confidence, and may give a good, and bold, and triumphant account of the great and mighty stewardship which we have exercised.

With respect to the cases of privations suffered by individuals, I regret them with those who regret them the most deeply ; they are always cases of great delicacy—often cases of very considerable hardship ; they call for the sincerest sympathy. But, let us recollect, that these losses and evils, in fact, constitute a part of the tax which, in a collective sense, we pay for the exalted position that we occupy ; and that it is the very nature of such taxes to bear hard on individual members of the community on which they are imposed. Heavy as they are, they are not to be put in competition

with the vast benefits which they purchase. They even vanish in the comparison. They must be numbered among the many losses, and privations, and difficulties, which, for a long series of years, this high and imperial Company has voluntarily incurred—and so long as it pursues such a course, so long shall I say of it, *esto perpetua!*—which it has incurred, I say, as the conditions of achieving greatness to itself, and reflecting glory on its country, and conferring the most important blessings on mankind—losses, by which it has gained wealth and dominion—privations, which Providence has been pleased to reward with signal prosperity—sacrifices, on which success, like the fire of Heaven, has descended.

I am very sorry to have detained the Court so long, and am most grateful for their attention. The sum of the whole is, that in its effect, though not in its intention, the proposed measure, if it would not pull down, would at least greatly endanger an established system of indisputable excellence, for the sake of trying an experiment of the most doubtful issue. The question is not, what expedient shall be adopted for the proper education of the civil functionaries of British India? but whether regulations already adopted for that purpose—regulations in full force and efficiency, and which can be demonstrated to have accomplished their object in

in no common degree—~~shall be permitted to continue their beneficial operations, or shall undergo a change of a most essential, and, as the warmest advocates of those regulations, believe, a most hazardous nature.~~

NOTE.—Since this debate took place, two gentlemen educated at the College have attained the office of Secretary or Deputy Secretary to Government in India, besides those named in pages 21, 22. These are Mr. J. Stokes at Fort St. George, and Mr. Greenhill at Bombay. The accounts also of the steadiness and good conduct of the junior civilians (see pages 11, 16, &c.) continue to be highly gratifying. The proportion assigned in page 13 for the civilians in India who have been educated at College, has since of course increased. Probably *six-sevenths* would now be rather below than above the mark.

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